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The Influence of Aspiration on Vowel Duration in Maithili

Ramawatar Yadav²

svara-mātrā-vibhāga-jñō gacchedācārya-saṃsadam
(He who knows the distinctions of tone and
length may go and sit with the professors).

Taittiriya-Prātisākhya, 24:6

1. Introduction

• Previous studies of vowel duration in various languages, including English, have shown that some factors affecting vowel duration are: (i) the degree of opening¹ of the vowel; (ii) certain properties (voice,² place³ and manner⁴ of articulation, and "force"⁵ of articulation) of the following consonant; (iii) linguistic structure,⁶ i.e., the nature of the phonemic contrasts employed by a given language; and (iv) the amount of glottal opening and airflow.⁷ Little, however, has been published on the effect of the fourth factor, i.e., aspiration, on vowel duration. Recently, in a study of Hindi (standard Delhi) vowel [a], Maddieson and Gandour (1976) have found an interaction between phonation type (aspiration, 'murmured' or 'breathy voiced') and vowel duration. A later study of Maddieson (1977) of 5 languages (Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi and Eastern Armenian) showed that vowel lengthening before aspirated consonants is not a universal. The present study examines the influence of postvocalic consonants (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced unaspirated and voiced aspirated) on vowel duration in Maithili--an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Nepal and India.

Not much experimental work on vowel duration has been done on the languages of India and Nepal. To date, only 6 studies--dealing with the acoustical measurements of vowel formants and vowel duration--have been reported on: Hindi (Dixit 1963; Mittal and Gupta 1971; Maddieson and Gandour 1976; Maddieson 1977) and Malayalam (Velayudhan 1971; Velayudhan and Howie 1974). As far as I know, no acoustic study of any of the languages of Nepal⁸ has been carried out yet.

Little has been published on the phonetics and phonology of Maithili. The only studies that I know of are: Jha (1941/1965; 1958), Yadav (1976); Ingemann and Yadav (1978) and Yadav (1979a,b).

1. A slightly modified version of this paper has appeared in South Asian Languages Analysis: 1 (1979).
2. Dr. Ramawatar Yadav is Lecturer in English at Tribhuvan University. He wishes to express his indebtedness to Dr. Frances Ingemann for her kind help in recording the material, and constant advice and guidance.

2. Experimental Method

2.1 Materials

Twenty-eight monosyllabic minimal word pairs differing only in the final consonant were embedded in the sentence frame (p^{her} ekber --- k^əhu) 'please say --- once again.' The test words (given in Table I) included 17 consonants in final position: [p, b, b^h; t, t^h, d, d^h; t̪, t̪^h; c, c^h; j, j^h; k, k^h; g, g^h] and six vowels (i.e., ə, a, o, u).⁹ The sentences were randomized and three recordings of the randomized sentences were made. The sentences were spoken in a relaxed informal style at normal conversational speed and without contrastive stress on the test words.

TABLE I
Test Words

Sentence frame: [p^{her} ekber -- k^əhu]
'again once say'

[i]			[e]			[ə]		
[biç]	'center'		[k ^h ep]	'times'		[gəp]	'talk'	
[biç ^h]	'pick up'		[k ^h eb]	'sail'		[gəb]	'a seedling ready to be transplanted'	
[biç]	'seed'		[k ^h eb ^h]	'plant seeds'		[gəb ^h]	'pregnancy' (i.e. of paddy crops) -- a metaphorical use.	
[biç ^h]	'rust'		[bed]	'vedas'		[hət]	'mote'	
[bik]	'sell'		[bed ^h]	'pierce'		[hət ^h]	'obstinacy'	
[bik ^h]	'poison'							
[u]			[o]			[a]		
[kut ^h]	'push; add pressure'		[kot]	'a muslim celebration'		[bat]	'matter; talk'	
[kud]	'jump'		[kot ^h]	'sour'		[bat ^h]	'pain'	
			[kod]	'dig'		[bad]	'after'	
						[bad ^h]	'out into the fields'	
						[bak]	'speech'	
						[bag]	'garden'	
						[bag ^h]	'tiger'	

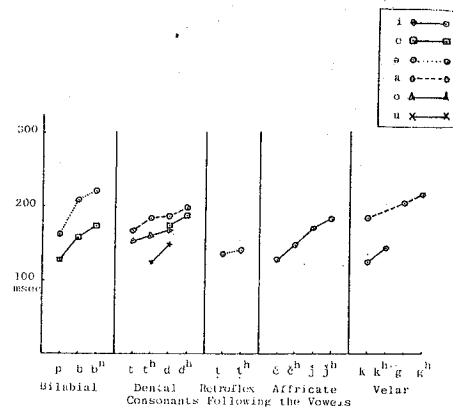


Fig. 1: Average Vowel Duration (in msec).

2.2 Speaker

The speaker (the author) was born in a village in the Tarai of Nepal and is a native speaker of Maithili.

2.3 Apparatus

Three recordings of each sentence were made on a Uher Royal Deluxe tape recorder. Eighty-four (28 x 3) wideband spectrograms were made on a Kay Sonagraph 6061B.

2.4 Measurements

Two measurements of duration were made: (1) vowel length was measured from the VOT (voice onset time) i.e., the start of the vowel to the closure of the following consonant. The results of these measurements are given in Table II and Figure 1.

TABLE II

Vowel Duration (in msec.)

	Following Consonant	[i]		Average	Ratio	Following Consonant	[e]		Aver- age	Ratio	
bi-	ç	135	115	135	1.00	k ^h e-	130	125	130	128	1.00
	ç ^h	150	150	140	1.14	b	175	150	150	158	1.23
	ç̣	175	160	175	1.32	b ^h	180	160	180	173	1.35
	ç̣ ^h	190	165	185	1.42						
k		130	115	130	1.00	be-	180	170	175	175	1.00
	k ^h	140	140	145	1.14	d ^h	190	190	180	187	1.06
[o]											
ku-	t ^h	115	125	125	1.00	ko-	150	150	160	153	1.00
	d	135	135	150	1.14	t ^h	165	150	165	160	1.04
						d	185	160	160	168	1.09
[a]											
ge-	p	165	150	170	1.00	ba-	165	160	180	168	1.00
	b	210	200	215	1.28	t ^h	175	185	195	185	1.10
	b ^h	220	220	220	1.35	d	175	190	195	187	1.11
						d ^h	190	190	210	197	1.17
he-	t	115	140	150	1.00						
	t ^h	120	150	150	1.03	k	180	185	185	183	1.00
[a]											
						g	200	205	200	202	1.10
						g ^h	215	215	215	215	1.17

Table II shows vowel duration in msec measured from the start of the vowel to the closure of the postvocalic consonant for each of the three utterances of each word, the average duration of vowels, and the ratio of vowel duration preceding voiced and aspirated consonants to the duration of vowels preceding voiceless unaspirated consonants. Thus, for example, the mean vowel durations in 3 tokens of the words [bic] and [bi^h] were 128 msec and 147 msec--the vowel preceding the aspirated consonant being 19 msec longer, with an average ratio of 1.00 to 1.14. Similarly, the average vowel durations in 3 tokens of the words [bij] and [bi^hj] were 170 msec and 183 msec--the vowel before the voiced aspirated consonant being 13 msec longer, with an average ratio of 1.00 to 1.07; and so on. The measurements, thus, clearly show that the aspiration of the following consonant does seem to affect vowel duration in Maithili.

Average vowel duration is also shown in Figure 1. The abscissa shows the postvocalic consonants of various places of articulations that occur while the ordinate shows the vowel duration in msec. From the limited data presented here, nothing definitive can be said about the influence of place of articulation of the following consonant on vowel length.

(2) In three words beginning with a voiceless aspirated consonant, an additional measurement of vowel duration was also made from the release of the preceding consonant to the closure of the following consonant. These measurements are shown in Table III. A. and Figure 2. Table III. B. shows the duration of aspirated release in the words [k^hep, k^heb, k^heb^h].

Table III

A. Vowel Duration (in msec) of [e]

Following Consonant	[e]			Average	Ratio
	1	2	3		
k ^h e-					
p	210	200	300	203	1.00
b	240	215	220	225	1.10
b ^h	255	220	240	238	1.17

B. Duration of Initial k^h-Release

Before	1	2	3	Average
-ep	85	75	70	75
-eb	65	65	70	67
-eb ^h	75	60	60	65

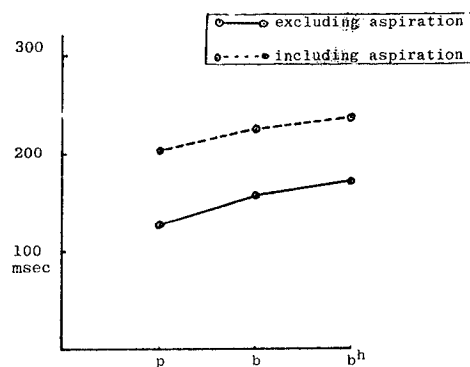


Fig. 2: Average Vowel Duration (in msec) of [e].

Figure 2 shows the average vowel duration of [e] as derived from the two types of measurement, i.e., (i) from VOT to the closure of the following consonant, and (ii) from the release of the preceding consonant to the closure of the following consonant. The figures for the second type of measurement are naturally higher since the duration of the initial aspirated release is also included in them.

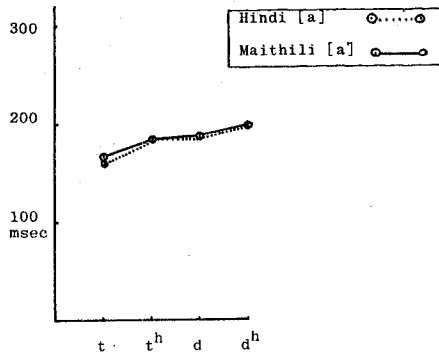


Fig. 3: Average vowel duration (in msec) of Hindi [a] and Maithili [a].

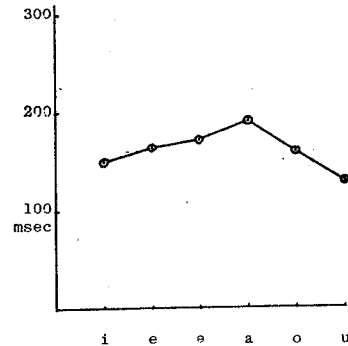


Fig. 4: Average Vowel Duration (in msec).

Figure 3 presents a comparison between the Hindi data as reported by Maddieson and Gandour (1976) and the present Maithili data. The results bear a striking similarity between the two.

Figure 4 shows the 'intrinsic' duration of the Maithili vowels based on the limited data used in this study. In Maithili, as in other languages, high vowels are shorter in duration than low vowels

3. Results and Discussion

Examination of the data reveals the following:

- (i) Maithili vowels preceding voiced unaspirated consonants are longer in duration than vowels preceding voiceless unaspirated consonants, with an average ratio of 1.00 to 1.18.
- (ii) Maithili vowels are longer in duration before voiceless aspirated consonants than before voiceless unaspirated consonants, with an average ratio of 1.00 to 1.09.
- (iii) Maithili vowels are longer in duration before voiced aspirated consonants than before voiced unaspirated consonants, with an average ratio of 1.00 to 1.06.

- (iv) The present Maithili data are completely amenable to the generalization that vowel duration appears to be correlated with tongue-height; in other words, other things being equal, a high vowel is shorter than a low vowel.
- (v) The present data offer yet another support¹⁰ for the traditional grouping of Maithili consonants (and perhaps those of all Indic languages) not only into voiced and voiceless categories but also into aspirated and unaspirated. In other words, the features of voice and aspiration do lend an increment of length to the preceding vowel.

Notes

1. See House and Fairbanks (1953); Peterson and Lehiste (1963); and House (1961), to name only a few.
2. See Halle and Stevens (1967); Chomsky and Halle (1968).
3. See Fischer - Jorgensen (1964).
4. See House and Fairbanks (1953).
5. See Belasco (1953).
6. See Zimmerman and Sapon (1958).
7. See Chen (1970).
8. A solitary exception may be Hinton's (1970) study of Gurung--a Sino-Tibetan language of Nepal--, but I have not yet been able to get a copy.
9. For inventory of Maithili consonant and vowel phonemes, see Yadav (1976).
10. For support based on temporal course and width of the glottis, see Ingemann and Yadav (1978).

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A Note on the Nepalese Satar Festivals of Soharai and Patamela

Premalata Ghimire**

The Satars live in Morang and Jhapa districts in the eastern-most part of Nepal's Tarai. They migrated to Nepal from Santhal Pargana and Choota-Nagpur of Bihar in India. Satars and Santals are of known common origin. In India they are called Santals while in Nepal they are known as Satars.

Satars divide themselves into Christian Satars and Hindu Satars. Christian Satars do not celebrate any of the traditional Satar festivals and rituals. Hindu Satars, on the other hand, celebrate these festivals as well as the more recently adopted Hindu festivals like Dasain, Tihar and Maghe Sankranti. Even though they regard themselves as Hindus and live among people of different communities within the Hindu caste system, the other Hindus regard the Satars as untouchables, i.e. at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. Social, political and economic factors make it necessary for the Satars to establish working relationships with the members of the Hindu community. Like many other ethnic groups in Nepal the Satars are also faced with the twin problems of maintaining a separate cultural identity as well as establishing their place within the surrounding Hindu culture. This is especially significant for the Satars since they are considered untouchables.¹

Two festivals, Soharai and Patamela, are highlights of Satar traditions. The explicit reasons for celebrating these festivals are different, but there are some striking similarities underlying the rituals. During both of these festivals, men are sent on hazardous assignments (hunting in the one case and being swung in the air while tied to a bamboo pole in the other) and in each case, after these fears are accomplished the men are then worshipped by the women of the household. Another common factor is the worship of the Hindu gods like Rama and Mahadeva. By worshipping these deities in these festivals the Satars seem to be asserting that they are a part of the Hindu socio-cultural system, but with a distinct cultural identity of their own. The extent to which this is accepted by the Hindu community will only become evident through further investigation (or on how it is interpreted).

* This paper represents part of my current fieldwork in a Satar village of Morang district. The fieldwork is being undertaken to collect data for my Ph.D. Dissertation.

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Soharai

Dalton (1973:267) calls Soharai 'the festival of cattle'. He states that "the Santals used to celebrate this festival in the month of Ashwin, comparable to the Dasahara of the plains Hindus." According to Mukherjea, Soharai is generally known as Kali Puja in Mayurbhanj, India and here it is "celebrated along with the Hindu festival associated with the worship of the goddess Kali." But the Satars of Nepal's Morang district consider this festival their version of Sukaratia (Deepavali)² celebrated by the Hindus. A story which gives the origin of Soharai and draws the relationship with Sukaratia is told as follows:

'Traditionally Satars used to celebrate Sukaratia in the month of Kartik (October-November). One poor widow also used to celebrate this festival every year but once could not afford to do so. She then made a vow to celebrate the festival after cutting her paddy in Magh (January-February) and did so by inviting her daughters and relatives to the ceremony. When other Satars saw this they were impressed, mainly because in Kartik (October-November) they too did not have any money while at this time of year they had plenty from the new harvest of paddy. From then on they started celebrating the Sukaratia festival in Magh (January-February) by calling it Soharai.'

Archer (1974:198) talks of 'Soharai' as the eldest daughter of the first Santal couple, Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi. The Satars of Morang district, however, are unaware of this legend and do not trace the origin of Soharai to the daughter of the first Santal couple.

Soharai is observed for six days in the month of Magh (January-February) after the harvest of paddy. A few days in advance, Handia (rice-beer) is prepared in every house. The first day of Soharai is called Um Hilok, "purifying day". In the morning all the houses are cleaned with cow-dung and water. Dirty clothes are washed by putting them in boiling water. Besides this, all the Satars, including infants and children, take a bath. Women wash their hair either with soap or with a smooth white clay. The evening of Um Hilok begins with the beating of drums by young men, and the playing of drums continues throughout the night.

The second day is Dakka Hilok or "food day". On this day the ancestors are worshipped and special food is prepared and offered to them at home by each male head of a family. A storeroom or kitchen is prepared for this puja (worship). The worshipper enters the room after taking a bath. Placed in front of the worshipper are a plate of rice and pulse cooked together, a jug full of rice-beer, a jug full of water, seven flour cakes, some kadam leaves or sal leaves and some leaf cups. The worshipper sits down facing west, puts the seven flour cakes on seven leaves and offers seven small portions of mixed rice and pulse on

the same leaves. Then he takes out a small portion of flour cake and mixed rice and pulse from the leaves and puts them one by one on the ground in front of the seven leaves. Finally, he offers beer and then water seven times by pouring them on the seven leaves. This puja lasts for about ten to fifteen minutes.

In the above ritual the perpetual emphasis on the number seven represents seven classes of ancestors on the worshipper's patrilineal side. Six of the ancestors are the worshipper's parents (if both are dead), his paternal grand parents (FM,FF), and his paternal grand parent's brother and his wife (FFB, FFBW) or the worshipper's father's brother and his wife. The seventh ancestor is the daughter-in-law or sister-in-law of the household who has died most recently. All the food and drinks are offered to these ancestors by invoking their names. After the ceremony is finished all the members of the family partake of the food offered to the ancestors.

Generally guests start arriving on this day. The guests of Soharai are mainly married daughters and sisters and their families. On this evening Satars decorate the entrance of their cowshed with dry rice flour and red vermillion powder. Cows and buffaloes are given a complete rest until the end of this festival. At night one or two candles are lit in the cowsheds.

The third day of Soharai is known as Khunto Hilok, "poles where cows and buffaloes are tied". This is a day for paying homage to these two kinds of animals. Cow symbolizes Laxmi (Goddess of Wealth). In the morning a group of men with the Jogmajhi (assistant headman), who beats the drum, go to each cowshed in the village and sing special songs for cows and buffaloes. The owners of these animals smear oil on the animals' horns and bodies. A bunch of paddy plant of new adwa rice and some dhubi grass are held in both hands by the male head of each family and moved in front of these animals three or four times. Finally the grasses are given to them to eat. The above rituals are said to bless the Satars with agricultural prosperity. The paddy plants signify agricultural prosperity while dhubi grass signifies its continuity.

After the puja some men gather at the majhi's (headman's) house for more drink and dance. A little before noon this group moves from one house to another, drinking beer in each house and singing different songs. Women dance and sing by holding each other's hand in such a way that their shoulders touch. Slight movements and small steps are the only actions required in this dance. They dance and sing along the village kulhi (road) and while doing so their eyes are fixed on the ground. Dancing continues for the whole day and night.

The fourth day is Jale Hilok, the "day of greeting". Villagers visit one another and in every house eat some rice and vegetables in banana leaves. The Satars of Morang say that this day used to be celebrated with great pomp and show. Now, due to the scarcity of food, no one tries to celebrate Jale Hilok with special (and costly) food. The dancing however continues.

The fifth day is Hako Katkom, "hunting of fish and crabs". After lunch all the villagers, including women and children, go out for fishing. The Satars believe that if one catches and eats fish on this day he will live a long life. Those who fail to catch fish in the village ponds try to obtain fish from other ponds or from markets.

The last day of Soharai is called Sendra, "hunting of animals". Vegetarian food is prepared early in the morning and the male members of each household are fed by 10:00 A.M., after which they go to hunt, taking bows and arrows. But before going to hunt the hunters visit each house of the village and eat some rice and vegetables in banana-leaves. After eating they throw the banana-leaves outside the houses.

In the evening the hunters come back and put all their prey which includes rats, rabbits, gallus and mongoose etc. at majhi hadam (the headman's house). They cook and eat these animals later. When they return home their feet are washed by a female member of their household irrespective of whether the men are servants or kin. The Satars stress that these hunters are back from treacherous jungles where tigers and other big animals live. Symbolically, these hunters go to fight with death, that is why before going they meet all the villagers and take food in their houses. Their coming back home signifies their victory over death. So their feet are washed as a sign of respect for them. After their feet are washed they are greeted warmly by their family members and given food.

Sendra is also the day for worshipping Rama and symbolically killing Rawana.³ The worship of Rama is performed in the morning by the eldest male member in each house. A storeroom or a kitchen is chosen for this puja. The worshipper sits facing west and places three sal leaves or kadam leaves on the ground. Three flour cakes are put on these leaves. Four leaf-cups of beer are offered one by one. Finally some water is sprinkled around the flour cake and beer. In lines with general Hindu ideas, everything is offered with the right hand while the left hand keeps touching the right elbow. No salutations or greetings are offered.

The evening of Sendra is for killing Rawana. A near-by field is chosen for this purpose. A small banana pillar is placed on the ground and one, three or five flour cakes are put on it. The odd numbers of the flour-cakes signify Rawana's extra nine (odd-number) heads. First a puja for Rama is performed by the Jogmajhi by simply offering beer in leaf-cups near the banana pillar. The purpose of this puja is to gain enough strength to kill Rawana. After the puja is over all the young men stand in one line with their bows and arrows and try to shoot the flour-cakes. The man who hits these is supposed to be the killer of Rawana. After this is over different kinds of games take place. In one the killer of Rawana lies down on the ground and is then carried on the shoulders of the other members for a few minutes around the village. At night the Jogmajhi visits the members of all the houses with a group of very young boys beating drums. These boys dance with sticks and in return for their entertainment are given khajari (fried rice) to eat.

Thus ends the colourful and musical festival of Soharai which is observed with great spirit and enthusiasm. The Satars' nomadic and adventurous nature is expressed in the last two days of this festival, namely Hako-Katkom and Sendrā. The worship of Rama and the killing of Rawana clearly indicate the influence of Hindu religious practices on the Satar-culture.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of Soharai lies in its having no specified date in the Satar calendar. It is simply begun on dates suitable for each village. The majhi consults the villagers to fix a date for its celebration. If some villagers are not ready to celebrate it, it is postponed. Fixing the date in this way has one clear advantage: one can enjoy Soharai both in his home village and at his in-law's village since the festival may take place in these villages at different times.⁴

Patamela

Patamela is celebrated in honour of Lord Mahadeva and is held between the last week of Chaitra (March-April) and the first week of Baisakh (April-May). This festival continues for three days.

On the first day a temple of thatched grass and bamboo is built for the Mahadeva. The roof is covered with sal leaves or kadam leaves. Satars consider themselves devotees of Mahadeva, and on this day some Satar men are spiritually possessed by Mahadeva. It is said that when Mahadeva enters a man's body it starts smelling like a gulaj flower. When this happens the possessed man rushes home, takes a bath and starts trembling.

When I was in the village, Bhuchung was the first man that year to become possessed by Mahadeva. When I met him at about 5 P.M. he was calmly playing his flute. But when he got possessed (around 8 P.M.) he started shouting, 'Chalai Shivai Parvati Mahadeva' (let's walk with Shiva Parvati and Mahadeva), trembling and stretching his body. He left running and panting, carrying a representation of the Mahadeva to the newly built temple. After placing the Mahadeva inside the temple, Bhuchung went to take a bath in the pond, all the time shouting the same verse, 'Chalai Shivai Parvati Mahadev'. Then he sat in the temple to worship Mahadeva.

A possessed man is not supposed to eat anything until the end of worship. As soon as one becomes possessed and sits to worship the Mahadeva, he is given a thread to wear by the Jogmajhi who is a main ritual officiant in this festival. This thread is made of three strings. The possessed man wears it either on his left shoulder or the right shoulder in the style of the sacred thread worn by the Hindu Brahmins. So long as he wears it, he is "like a Brahmin" as the Mahadeva is, and he is not supposed to eat any kind of meat and fish. In the words of one Satar, "this thread ties up Mahadeva who is supposed to be inside the body of the possessed man".

Many people of different age groups may get possessed during this time. During my field work four men got possessed. Two were 16 years old, the third was 40, and the fourth was 9 years old. All of them wore "sacred threads."

Inside the temple the Mahadeva idol is placed in the eastern corner together with representation of his servants. Usually oval, long or round stones represent Mahadeva. A Yoni (representing "female energy") is also made there and the Mahadeva is placed on it. Some burning guintha (dried cowdung sticks) are put on one side of the room near the Mahadeva. When the worship starts a panda (priest) should be there to perform the rituals. In his absence (i.e. if no one in the village wants to serve as a panda) anyone who is possessed by the Mahadeva can perform in his place.

The panda sits near Mahadeva facing east. He starts preparing offerings (pulas) which consist of about 300g. of adwa rice, water and milk. Adwa rice is put in a plate and washed in water two or three times and then left in water for a few minutes. Gulaj flowers are used to decorate the Mahadeva. A banana leaf is placed in front of the Mahadeva and two pan leaves are put on it. Some rice soaked in water is also placed on the pan leaves. The worshipper picks up some gulaj flowers and piles them up in the shape of a pyramid. He then takes a supari (nut) and washes it with water and puts it in a bowl full of oil. After that he takes the nut out of the bowl and, holding it in front of a burning cowdung stick, tries to heat it up. Finally, he puts the nut on the pulas. While praying, he asks the Mahadeva to fulfill his wishes. This he does without speaking out loud. The Satars say that if the wishes of the panda are to be fulfilled, the nut must slide down to the ground from the pulas. The sliding down of the nut is seen as very important. According to my informants, the nut slides down every time the panda's wish is granted by the Mahadeva. If it fails to slide down, the wish may not be granted. Panda makes personal wishes as well as the wishes for the welfare of the whole community. Once when I was observing the ceremony, the nut slid down twelve out of fifteen times. When the nut slides down signifying that the wish expressed by the panda may be fulfilled, he prepares the pulas rice-pyramid afresh by putting some more soaked rice and gulaj flowers on it. Then repeating the same procedure with the nut as mentioned above, he places the nut on top of the pyramid while praying for the fulfillment of his next wish. The process continues until he has prayed for the fulfillment of all his wishes or the nut has stopped sliding down continuously for three times. Every time the nut slides down the panda salutes the Mahadeva. In between he chants the following verses: "Chalai Shivai Parvati Mahadeva", "Chalai Shivai Fuladurio Mahadeva", "Chalai Shivai Lilamuni Mahadeva", and "Chalai Shivai Bhonked Mahadeva". These mean respectively 'let's walk with Shiva, Parvati and Mahadeva.

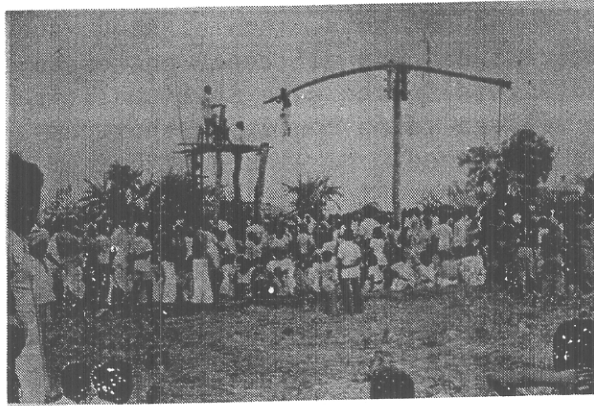
When the puja is over all the rice of pulas is put in a plate and the nut on the banana leaf. Now the jogmajhi gives some brown sugar to the panda. He mixes this with the soaked rice, distributes it to all the people assembled there, and keeps some for himself to eat. He keeps

eating this way as long as Patamela is celebrated (about three days). The puja is performed twice a day and all those possessed by the Mahadeva spend their days and nights in the same newly built temple. No women go there. Most of the village young men spend their days and nights there as companions to the possessed men. The last day of Patamela is perhaps the most interesting. A long pole is placed on the ground outside the temple with a revolving cross-bar of bamboo placed on the top. This pole is called pata-khunto. In the morning four or five village women (depending on the number of possessed men) come wearing wet clothes which signify purification. Each is carrying a jug of water. A small mango, its leaves and some gulaj flowers are placed in the jugs. Mangoes and their leaves are considered very auspicious. Some pieces of burning charcoal are placed around the temple. The jogmajhi starts beating a drum. All the possessed men take a bath, stand in a line and walk in a circle around the temple and pata-khunto. The jogmajhi walks in front of them. Next, each of them comes to the pata-khunto walking directly on the fire. Each one in turn is tied to one end of the cross-bar with a long piece of cloth and rope. The other men swing the bamboo six to seven times from its other side by holding a rope which is tied to it. The man who is tied to the cross-bar carries a basket of flowers and uncooked rice in his left hand and a stick in his right hand. Every time he is swung around the pata-khunto he throws rice and flowers on the people standing below. After his turn is over he comes down. One of the women with a jug of water goes to him, washes his feet, pours the rest of the water on the pata-khunto, touches the khunto with her forehead, and finally salutes it by bending over and touching her feet. This act is repeated every time another worshipper is tied around the bamboo.

After this ceremony the fair continues for a few more hours. Men and women wearing their best clothes come from different villages and dance. The men play flutes and beat drums while the women dance. All the men who were possessed by the Mahadeva pick up the representation of the Mahadeva in the temple, give it a bath in a pond, and finally bring it to the same place from where they took it. After this all of them take off their threads and eat ordinary daily food (rice and vegetable).

There is a story relating to this festival that clarifies some features of the above rituals:

"Once while Mahadeva was sleeping his cow was stolen by some thieves. He did not see who stole it. Some devotees of Mahadeva were passing by, heard about this theft and started talking about it. Mahadeva took them for thieves and placed some fire in their way. As the men were innocent it did not matter to them and they walked easily on that fire by removing it with their legs as they went by. Mahadeva got furious, caught them and threatened to punish



A Satar man being swung around in the air while tied to a bamboo pole.



Three Satar women representing the mothers of the supposed thieves in Patamela.



A Satar women sweeping her courtyard with a mixture of cowdung and water. Note that like other ethnic groups of Nepal Satar women neither sit down nor use their hands while washing. They always wash with a broom by bending over.

them badly. Those men tried to tell him about their innocence, but in vain. When their mothers found out about it, they came running to rescue their sons. They cried and pleaded for mercy but nothing worked. Mahadeva fixed a khunto (a pillar) with a bamboo across it and tied each man to it. He then swung the bamboo several times. While doing so he said 'if you are guilty you will either fall down from this bamboo or the bamboo will break into parts.' Each man was tried and tested but, as all were innocent, nothing happened to them. Every time one came down his mother ran to him to wash his feet because he had escaped death by proving his innocence. Mahadeva's cow is still missing and he is still looking for it."

In Patamela the men possessed by the Mahadeva represent the thieves, women with jugs of water their mothers, and the pata-khunto signifies the Mahadeva himself. My informants in the village told me that previously people used to be suspended from iron hooks pierced into their back muscles and swung around very fast. As a result of fatal accidents they do not practise this anymore. But it is their strong belief that any one who acts as though possessed without actually being possessed by the Mahadeva will either fall down from the bamboo or the bamboo will break into parts.

Conclusion

Soharai is an annual ritual recognition of much that is of fundamental importance to the Satars, and some of this is of economic importance. Following "purification", the Satars ritually acknowledge in turn their ancestors, their domesticated cows and buffaloes, their social ties (on the "day of greeting") and finally fishing and hunting of the wild animals. Patamela, by contrast, is an annual worship of the god Mahadeva. But the climax of both festivals is similar: village men symbolically conquer death and are then worshipped by women. In Soharai the conquering of death depends on the bravery and strength of the men in their struggle with wild nature; in Patamela the escape of death depends on the men's "innocence" and loyalty with respect to the Mahadeva. This is both reflected in the myth behind Patamela and in the idea that were a man to falsely pretend possession during the pata-khunto rite, he would die.

The festivals are similar on another level, too, in that they both reflect some Satar adaptations to the surrounding Hindu community. The Hindu influence is clear in both festivals. Not only

are Rama, Rawana and Mahadeva the focus of ritual attention, but in Soharai there is the specifically Hindu style of making offerings, the use of dhubi grass, etc. Perhaps most striking is the ritual-donning of sacred threads by the possessed men in Patamela--threads that make them "like Brahmans". This is a rather clear sanctioning of the ritual values of an external society, a society that considers Satars untouchables.

On the other hand, the Satars are not merely emulating the external Hindu community with these festivals. For one thing they have not adopted these festivals as whole alien traditions but rather have woven Hindu elements into some of their own traditions, so that Soharai and Patamela still appear as distinctive Satar ceremonies. Even more interesting is the fact that the Satars do not consider that the worship of Rama and Mahadeva has been borrowed from the Hindus. Rather they claim that this worship is rooted in ancient, traditional Satar culture.⁵ Thus it would appear that while Satars have been adopting Hindu elements in their religious life, and are catering to some of the values that come along with that adoption, they are at the same time asserting a separate and distinctive Satar identity. In any case it is clear that the Satars do not view themselves as a "tribal group emulating Hindus" but have instead reinterpreted some Hindu traditions as Satar traditions.

Both these festivals, Soharai and Patamela, appear as the biggest events of Satar life, and they perform a variety of both social and religious functions. For example, both provide an opportunity for boys and girls from different villages to meet; and sometimes marriages are negotiated as a result of these meetings. In addition, many of the rituals attached to these festivals are community rituals, and this creates the atmosphere of common belief and helps to transmit a sacred tradition.

Notes

1. This obtains even though the Nepalese law forbids discrimination on the basis of caste.
2. Deepavali, which is also known as Tihar, is celebrated for five days in October-November. Its first day is the worship for crow, second day for dog, third day for cow and Laxmi (Goddess of Wealth), fourth day for ox and the last day for one's own brothers. Candles are lit in houses at night during the last three days.
3. Rama and Rawana are two mythical characters of the Ramayana, a Hindu epic. According to the texts, Rama was an incarnation of Bhagwan (God) Vishnu and His main aim was to fight against the evil which is represented by Rawana. Success was achieved

by Rama in destroying the evil, that is by killing Rawana. This victory of Good over Evil is still being celebrated by the Hindus in one of their biggest festivals, Vijayadashami, which takes place in September-October.

4. Satars marry both within and outside their villages.
5. As Mahadeva is a known Hindu god, Troisi (1978:145) suggests that Patamela is not historically of Santal origin.

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The Thakali Household and Inheritance System

Michael Vinding*

This article¹ describes and analyses the household among the Thakālis.² It examines firstly the economics of the household and the inheritance system. Next, the frequency of different household types is analysed in relation to residence pattern and the developmental cycle of the household.

The ideal norm among the Hindus is the joint family household.³ One of the aims of this article is to show that there are in Nepal, which according to her constitution is a Hindu state, groups such as the Thakalis, where the ideal norm is not the joint family household, but the nuclear family household. Another aim is to show that the traditional preference among the Thakālis for the nuclear family household is primarily a product of social considerations rather than a function of ecological and economic considerations.

The literature on the Thakālis includes only fragmentary references to the topics discussed here, and the material on which this discussion is based is entirely primary data. Research was carried out in Thak Kholā in 1972 and from 1975 to 1978 and pertains most directly to the Thakalis of that valley. These Thakālis consist of three subgroups the Tamāngs, the Mawātans, and the Yhūlkāsummis. This article analyzes and compares data from all three groups.

The Economics of the Thakali Household

The most important socio-economic group of the Thakali society is the mohme⁴ (th.), or household. It consists of a group of relatives, who place their labour and property into a common fund and satisfy their material needs from the turn-over of this fund. Moreover, members live together and use the same hearth for cooking when staying in the home village of Thak Khola.

The members of a household usually reside, work, and eat together and thus the household is the basic group of production and consumption, as well as the basic group of socialization. Furthermore, the household is the most important property holding group in Thakali society. Almost all the means of production - land, animals, capital, and labour - are controlled by the household. Only a small proportion of cultivated land and capital is in other hands: religious organizations such as monasteries and temples; kinship groups such as patrilineal descent groups and nī māh syāng (th.);⁵ and villages and village groups such as the five original

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villages of Panch Gaun and the thirteen original villages of Thaksatsae. All pastures and forests are owned by the villages and the village groups.

When a new household is established the husband places into the common fund his labour and the property he has received from his parents. This property may be his full share of the ancestral property, but is usually only a minor share known as mānā thi chuwā (th.) or pho cho bo cho (yh.). As mānā thi chuwā each son usually receives one or two fields, tools for farming, utensils for cooking, a few hundred rupees, and perhaps a house and a few animals. Richer parents generally give their sons more than poorer parents. There have been cases of parents being so poor that they were unable to give their sons anything. Information on sons' claim to the paternal property is ambiguous. For instance some informants state that sons can claim a reasonable part of the ancestral property as mānā thi chuwā, while others state that such a claim cannot be made.

Parents try to give each son the same amount as mānā thi chuwā. There are, however, cases where younger sons have received less than their elder brothers, because their parents' financial situation had been reduced by the time the younger sons claimed their shares. The amount given as mānā thi chuwā is recorded and inequities are made up when the ancestral property is finally divided.

The amount parents give their sons may depend on the age of the son when he leaves the household. If a younger son resides in the natal household longer than elder siblings, contributing to the welfare of the household and perhaps supporting elderly parents, he can receive a larger share. Examples have been cited where sons received as much as two hundred rupees for each extra year. It is, however, entirely up to the parents to decide if such an extra payment should take place and how much should be given.

The most important contribution a wife makes to the household is as a source of labour which, from an economical point of view, is at least as valuable as the labour of her husband. Women seldom bring land to the household, as they rarely inherit this form of property in the patrilineal system.

Most wives bring into their new households dāijo (th.) (dāisa, yh.), or presents they have received from their parents at the time of their wedding. Traditionally parents give a small amount of grain, a few agricultural implements and cooking utensils as dāijo. Daughters of the rich may receive a field, but usually only if the marriage is within the natal village. In some cases the amount given as dāijo has increased significantly in the last decades due to the Hindu influence in Thakali society, especially among migrants and their descendants.⁶

The property a woman owned before her wedding and brings with her when she leaves her natal household is known as pewā (th.).⁷ It includes especially money made through su nar sāwa (th.), a custom found among all the Thakalis, but more commonly practiced among the Mawatan and the Yhulkasummi.⁸ Under this arrangement parents allow their unmarried daughters to receive the profit made on certain property. For example, a daughter may receive the harvest of barley from a certain field, while the harvest of the second sowing of sweet buckwheat from the same field is used to cover the expenses of crop production. In another instance, a daughter may get the milk products and kids of a particular goat.

A married woman has the right to keep the pewā for herself, but can also place it into the common fund. Some women place their pewā into the common fund when they have given birth to children, especially sons, which makes them more confident that their husband will not divorce them.⁹ Most women, however, prefer to keep their pewā for themselves even after many years of marriage. This capital can be, and has been, used to save a household, or for the education of children, when the common fund in one way or another has been depleted.

Brides traditionally receive small presents from the guests invited to the wedding. These presents are known as gor dhuwā.¹⁰ The bride may keep her gor dhuwā for herself or place it into the common fund.

Finally, during the wedding, the bride receives presents from her husband and his parents including jewelry and clothes. These presents properly belong to the husband, and the bride has only usufruct rights.

Property placed into the common fund is, according to informants, still in the legal possession of those individuals who place it into the fund. Their rights are, however, limited. Income from the property is shared and enjoyed in common with the other members. Management is in the hands of the head of the household. Most important, property can usually only be disposed of with the consent of other adult members of the household, as the following example illustrates.

A Thakali man sold the house he had inherited from his father, in which he and his family were living. His wife was informed about the transaction only after it had been concluded. The wife got very angry since she thought that her husband should have informed her prior to the act and since in her opinion he had received too little for the property. Therefore she went to the buyer and informed him of her intention to place the case before the village headman and the village mediators (mechin, th.) in

order to annual the agreement. She would however, not do so, if the buyer would pay her husband another one thousand rupees in addition to the eight thousand rupees the husband had already received for the house. The buyer thought the case over and agreed to pay the additional one thousand rupees.

The informant, who recalled this case, added that most Thakali men only want to conclude major deals when they are sure that the opposite party has discussed the transaction with the other adult members of the household.

Dividing the Common Fund: Thakali Inheritance System

The common fund of a household is divided if a husband and wife divorce. The wife usually receives the same amount of property as she had placed into the fund. She receives no compensation for her labour, because she has received food and clothes since the fund was established. The husband receives the rest of the fund. The husband, therefore, acquires the profit or absorbs the loss made on the fund.

One of the parties is usually fined in connection with the divorce. Representatives from the patrilineal descent group of the husband and from the natal group of the wife meet with the village headman and the village mediators, and mediators from other villages if necessary, to decide on whom the fine should be imposed. The wife is usually fined if she has committed adultery. The husband is usually fined if he has mistreated his wife, or if he has spent an excessive amount of money on alcohol or gambling.¹¹ The party claiming divorce without any 'good' reason is also fined. There have been cases where the individual claiming divorce without any 'good' reason has had to pay the other person between two and three thousand rupees as compensation.

There are three references in the literature relating to the inheritance system of the Thakalis:

"Thakalis can leave their property to any or all of their children, sons or daughters or they may choose (though this is not often done) to give a share to an outsider."
(Manzardo, Dahal and Rai 1976: 96-97).

"Thakali inheritance patterns encourage independence since a father can leave his estate to any of his children, or even his dog if he so desires. There is no provision for fixed shares as in the case of the Nepal castes, hence a son is encouraged to make his own way, since he cannot count on a share of an estate." (Manzardo 1977a: 440).

"This leaves the son in an uncertain position in regard to his patrimony and encourages him to set off on his own at an early age...." (Manzardo 1977b: 64).

According to my information, these accounts given by Manzardo of the inheritance system of the Thakalis are inaccurate.¹² The transfer of the paternal property can take place at different times and in different ways, but the result is always that all sons with a legal right share the property equally among themselves.¹³

The majority of the property in the common fund is contributed by the husband. We shall, therefore, consider only how the property of the husband is passed through generations from father to son.

The Thakali man does not necessarily need to die before his property can be passed on to his sons. Thakali men retire politically at the age of 61 years (jharche, th.). This means that they can no longer represent their household in formal political organizations, and no longer carry out political duties in the community.¹⁴ The property of men who "retire" is divided among the sons.¹⁵ Property may also be divided before a man becomes 61 years old, if he so desires.

The first step in the division of ancestral property is to make up any inequalities in the amounts the sons have received as mānā thi chuwā. The next step is to place a part of the property aside for the marriage of unmarried sons and daughters, including dāijo for the daughters. Finally, the remainder is divided in one of the two ways:

1) There can be made as many equal shares as there are sons, plus one extra share for the parents. The share of the parents includes the house. After the division of the property parents commonly stay in a joint household with their youngest son who now represents the household politically. The share of the parents is written down and later utilised for covering the expenses of their death ceremonies. Little remains then of the original estate to be divided among the sons. Theoretically the sons should divide the remains equally. Actually, the youngest son usually gets more than the others, e.g. the house, because he has had his aging parents staying with him in a joint household for a number of years.

2) The paternal property can also be divided in another way, which is especially common among the Yhulkasummi. In this instance, there are made as many shares as there are sons and the parents keep only a few necessities including their clothes and jewelry. The sons divide the ancestral property equally among themselves, but the youngest usually gets a bigger share, including the house,

if he has stayed for a long time in a joint household with the parents. After the division of their property, the parents will maintain a separate household in a room in the house of their youngest son. The sons are obliged, usually in writing, to provide their parents with foodstuffs and firewood, and also to cover the expenses of their parents' death ceremonies.

The property of a man who dies before his property has been transferred is passed on to his sons in different ways according to their ages. The property is passed to the sons undivided if none of the sons have left the natal household. The property will then only be divided when one of the sons leaves the natal household and establishes his own. On the other hand, the property is divided among the sons after their father's death, if one or more sons have already established their own independent households. In this case sons still staying in the natal household merge their property and form one single household.

A widow does not inherit her husband's property, but she has the right of maintenance. She may stay in an independent household in a room of the house of the youngest son and live on foodstuff and firewood provided by her sons; or she may receive a share of the property for her maintenance and live in a joint household with her youngest son. The widow has, however, only usufruct rights to the share and cannot dispose of it.

A widow can also return to her natal household. In such an instance her situation and status is like that of a divorced woman. The Thakalis say that in both situations the woman returns to the soil of the syāng' (syāng sa re yewa, or syāng sa yan yewa, th.). A woman's syāng refers to the male members of her family of procreation, especially her brothers. In both situations the woman's membership switches from the patrilineal descent group of her husband to that of her father.¹⁶ The widow has the right to take with her the same amount of property as she had placed into the common fund shared with the husband. She forfeits her right to maintenance from the property of her deceased husband and also her right to children from the union, if her deceased husband's brothers wish to accept the responsibility of their upbringing. Due to this restriction, normally only young and or childless widows return to their natal households. The benefits to the widow returning to her natal household are that she no longer needs to work in her deceased husband's household, she no longer needs to remain chaste to her husband, and that if she so desires she may take a new husband.

Any man can make a written will (thālu thamba, 'to place a wish', th.) if he wants his property divided in a special way. It may be that a man wants his youngest son to get a bigger share than the other sons because he stayed for many years in a joint household with the youngest son. It may be that a man without sons

wants his daughters to get a share of his property. Or it may be that a man wants to be sure that sufficient amounts are set aside for the marriage of his unmarried daughters.

There are no limits to what can be included in a will. But, on the other hand, there is no rule that the wishes of a will have to be fulfilled. In case of conflict, representatives from the patrilineal descent group of the deceased and the village community decide how the property shall be divided.¹⁷ The general rule is that property shall be divided equally among sons entitled to a share. It will thus not be accepted that a particular son gets significantly less than that to which he is entitled. The representatives will accept a wish that the youngest son shall have more property because he has stayed longer in a joint household than the other brothers. They will, however, see to it that the extra property which the youngest son gets is in reasonable relation to the time he has spent in the joint household. They will also accept that a part of the movable property is spent according to particular wishes. For example, a man's will might state that half of his property shall be given to the local temple. In that case, it may be decided that the sons shall keep and share equally all the immovable property. Movable property will first be used to cover expenses for the death ceremonies and the remaining movable property will then be distributed according to the will. Usually, there is not much left after the expenses of the death ceremonies have been paid. The representatives will then advise the sons to save some money and spend it according to the wishes of the will at a later date.

According to Thakali tradition daughters have no rights to ancestral property. Here the Thakali tradition agrees with Nepalese law. In recent years, especially in connection with the International Women's Year in 1975, there have been minor changes concerning women's rights to inherit. These changes, however, have had little effect. A married woman still has no right to ancestral property if she has any brothers.¹⁸

The property of a man without sons is, according to tradition, inherited by his close patrilineal relatives (siki, th.), usually his brothers or their sons.¹⁹ Informants state, however, that in this case a significant share of the property can be claimed and will be given to his daughters, if the daughters have been looking after their aging parents and if the brothers' sons have shown no concern for their father's brother.²⁰

There are, however, many means in Thakali society by which parts of the ancestral property can be transferred to daughters. A man can state in his will that his daughters shall have a minor share of his property and then hope that the wish will be followed.

More directly, he can give his daughters parts of the property as su nar sāwa, or as dāijo. Finally, it is also possible to give daughters part of the movable property secretly (behind the backs of the sons or the brother's sons) or, more openly, if the sons are not against the transfer.

Household Types

Members of Thakali households are always relatives, and the various types of households can thus be distinguished according to the kinship relations between the members. The frequency of various household types among the Thakalis has been established on the basis of a sample of 121 households from Thak Khola. My general survey of Thak Khola shows that there are 640 Thakali households in the valley, and the sample used for this study includes every fifth household. Table 1 shows the distribution of the 121 households in four major categories -- single, nuclear, joint and "Special Cases." Two of these categories have been further subdivided as shown in Table 1. Unfortunately, the literature on the Thakali households contains no statistical information, so comparisons are not yet possible.

The nuclear family household is the most frequent type with 74 cases, i.e. 61.2% of the sample. 54 of these are actual nuclear families, while 20 are "variant" forms of the nuclear family. Six of the latter consist of married couples without children, five of married couples all of whose children have left the household, five of widowers with unmarried children, two of widows with unmarried children, one of a divorced man with his children, and finally, one of a divorced woman with her children.

Another 20 households, i.e. 16.5% of the sample, consist of single members. Seven of these are widows, one is a widower, six are unmarried men, two are unmarried women, and four are divorced women.

19 households, i.e. 15.7% of the sample, are joint families. One consists of a married couple, their children, and the husband's younger brother, who is still unmarried (collateral joint). Nine consist of a married couple, their married son and the son's wife (lineal joint). The last nine consist of a widow or a widower, her or his married son, and the son's wife ("broken" lineal joint).

Finally, eight households, i.e. 6.6% of the sample, are special cases. Their composition is as follows: 1) an unmarried woman and her illegitimate child; 2) a divorced man, his widowed mother, and his unmarried brother (a monk); 3) a widower, his unmarried son, and his unmarried brother (a monk); 4) an unmarried man, his widowed mother, his younger unmarried siblings, and his father's mother; 5) a man, his wife, their divorced daughter and her two daughters;

Table 1: Distribution of Household Types

	<u>Yhulkasummi</u>	<u>Tamang</u>	<u>Mawatan</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Single Households</u>	7 (15.2%)	5 (9.8%)	8 (33.3%)	20 (16.5%)
<u>Nuclear Households</u>	28 (60.9%)	34 (66.7%)	12 (50.0%)	74 (61.2%)
Nuclear	18	28	8	54
Broken nuclear	10	6	4	20
<u>Joint Households</u>	6 (13.0%)	9 (17.6%)	4 (16.7%)	19 (15.7%)
Lineal joint	2	5	2	9
Broken lineal joint	4	3	2	9
Collateral joint	0	1	0	1
<u>Special Cases</u>	5 (10.9%)	3 (5.9%)	0	8 (6.6%)
Total	46 (100.0%)	51 (100.0%)	24 (100.0%)	121 (100.0%)

6) three brothers and their divorced sister--two of these brothers are unmarried, and the third one is divorced; 7) a man, his wife, their children, and the husband's father's sister who is divorced; and 8) a widower and his three grandchildren. The father of these children is a widower, who has lived for many years south of Thak Khola together with his brother.

The frequency of household types is not precisely identical for the three Thakali groups. The frequency of single households is, for instance, higher among Mawatan and lower among Tamang. These differences are, however, statistically so small (chi-square, $Q = 9.37$ is less than $\chi^2_{.95}$ [six degrees freedom] = 12.59) that it can be concluded that the distribution of household forms is basically similar for the three Thakali groups.

The number of household members has been established from the data on the households in the same sample, and is shown in Table II. The 46 Yhulkāsummi households have a total of 170 members. The mean average size is 3.7 members. Households with four members are the most frequent followed by households with two or three members. The 24 Mawātan households have a total of 76 members. The mean average size is 3.2 members and households with one member are the most frequent followed by households with three members. The 51 Tamāng households have a total of 252 members. The mean average size is 4.9 members and households with seven members are the most frequent followed by households with four or five members. The 121 Thakāli households have a total of 498 members. The mean average size is 4.1 members. Households with one or four members are the most frequent followed by households with seven or three members.

The number of household members is relatively low among the Thakalis.²¹ The major reason for this low mean average size is the high frequency of nuclear households and households with single persons.

Residence Patterns

In the literature on the Thakalis there is only one reference to residence pattern. Manzardo (1977b:68) notes that "the Byanshi do retain some of the features noted in both Thakali and Sherpa society, namely the nebulous freedom from joint family control as nuclear families are formed at marriage through neolocal marriage patterns..." Manzardo did not explicitly state what he meant by 'neolocal marriage patterns.' It is, however, implicit that he follows Murdock, 1949:16, who defines neolocal as "where a newly wedded couple, as in our society, establish a domicile independent of the location of the parental home of either partner, and perhaps even at a considerable distance from both..."

Table II: Number of Household Members

<u>Number of Household Members</u>											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Yhulkasumi	7	8	8	9	6	2	5	0	0	1	46
Mawatan	8	3	4	3	1	2	3	0	0	0	24
Tamang	5	4	5	8	7	6	10	4	1	1	51
Total	20	15	17	20	14	10	18	4	1	2	121

Table III: Residence Pattern

	<u>Yhulkasummi</u>	<u>Tamang</u>	<u>Mawātan</u>	<u>Total</u>
The couple stayed, one month after their wedding, in:				
<u>The Husband's Former Household</u>	26	40	14	80
- husband's father's household	14	30	11	55
- husband's own household	12	8	3	23
- husband's own household including husband's first wife	0	1	0	1
- husband's elder brother's household	0	1	0	1
<u>Own Separate Household in Husband's Village</u>	0	1	1	2
<u>Own Separate Household in Wife's Village</u>	1	0	0	1
<u>Their Natal Households</u>	2	0	0	2
Total	29	41	15	85

The residence pattern among the Thakalis has been established on information from a sample of 85 couples. This data is provided in Table III. This information contradicts Manzardo's assertion that nuclear families are formed at marriage through neolocal marriage patterns. 80 couples, i.e. 94% of my sample, settled and established themselves in the household where the husband was a member prior to the marriage. In 55 cases they joined the household of the husband's father. In 23 cases the couple joined the household of the husband, who at the time of marriage, already had established his own household independent of his father. In one case, they joined the husband's elder brother's household, and in another case, the household of the husband, who was already married and lived together with his first wife.

It is interesting to note that the men in 23 cases at the time of their marriage had already established their own household independent of their parents. These are mostly men, who, in mature age, had established their own households without getting married, or those who, at a relatively young age, had established their own households following the death of their father. Only seldom were they widowers and divorcees.

Only three couples settled and established themselves in a household where the husband was not a member prior to the marriage. They did so, in one case, by moving to the wife's village and settling there independent of the wife's father. The couple had stayed after the wedding in the household of the husband's father, but settled shortly after in the wife's village, because, according to my informants, the wife insisted on staying in her natal village. The couple had a son, who later married a woman from his father's village and settled there. These two cases provide exceptions to the general rule that the newlywed couples always settle in the husband's village. This rule is obviously interconnected with the patrilineal inheritance system. It will be interesting in the future to see if a change in the inheritance system enabling daughters also to get a share of the land is associated with a change in the residence pattern and the household forms.

Finally, in two cases the husband and wife remained for some years after marriage in their respective natal households. Both cases are found among the Yhulkasummi among whom it was common for parents to only give away their daughters on the condition that they could keep them for some years to work at home.²² This custom, known as syāptu chimpa (yh.), is no longer popular and is also forbidden according to local law.²³

The Development Cycle of the Household

The frequency of household types is a function of several factors, of which residence is only one. The developmental cycle of

the household is another, and more important, factor and helps to explain the lack of correlation between the frequency of household types and the frequency of residence types.

In this respect, the most important feature of the developmental cycle of the household is that elder sons and their wives stay only for a relatively short period in a joint household with the sons' father. Most couples leave the joint household within the first five years of marriage. A few couples stay for more than five years, but usually leave, at the latest, when a younger brother of the husband marries.

The situation is different when the husband is the youngest or the only son. He will more frequently join the household of his father after marriage and then stay in a joint household until his father dies or retires, and he himself takes over the household.²⁴

The developmental cycle of the household, and hence the frequency of household types found among the Thakalis, reflects a traditional preference. The Thakalis themselves say that they prefer to have nuclear family households rather than joint family households since the latter are bound to lead to conflicts.

The conflicts between members of households based on lineal joint families, lineal-collateral joint families, and collateral joint families are well-documented for Hindu communities (e.g. Madan 1965). The Thakalis say that it is mostly the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law which causes trouble in the lineal joint family household.²⁵ The daughter-in-law usually has difficulties in such a household. She must work harder than any member of the household including her husband's younger sisters. She must not eat too much because that does not "look good." She cannot serve her old friends a cup of tea without her mother-in-law's permission. Many such daughter-in-laws see their mother-in-law as the major reason for their troubles and dream about the day when they can establish their own household. A strained relationship between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law eventually becomes problematic for their respective husband and son. Even if he tries to remain neutral both women accuse him of siding with the other.

The main cause of trouble in the lineal-collateral joint family or the collateral joint family household is, according to my Thakali informants, the relationship between the married brothers' wives. One, or even more, of the wives often feel that they, their husband and their children are not treated properly and that they do not benefit as much from the joint enterprise as do the other brothers and their wives and children. Moreover, the brothers usually start to quarrel over money.

The Thakalis are thus explicitly aware of the potential conflicts in the joint family household. The reason why lineal joint family households are formed is that somebody has to look after the aging parents. It is especially hard for an old couple to plough, harvest, and collect leaves for making manure. The Thakalis solve this problem, as shown above, in either of the following two ways: 1) the parents give up all their property and stay separately, sometimes in a room in the house of their youngest son, and live on food and wood supplied by their sons. This custom is commonly found among the Yhulkasummi, and rarely among the Tamangs; or 2) the parents keep a part of their property and stay in a joint household with their youngest son. The data from the sample shows that the young husband was the youngest or the only son in fifteen of the eighteen lineal joint family households.

The sample does not include any lineal-collateral joint family households, that is, a family which consists of a man, his wife, their married sons, and the sons' wives. A general survey of all the present Thakali households of Thak Khola includes, however, two households of this type.

Furthermore, I was informed of a former household of this type. This household was a special yet revealing case in many ways. It consisted of a widower, his married sons, and the sons' wives and children. Only few members stayed in Thak Khola. The father was first engaged in the traditional salt-grain exchange in Thak Khola. Later, he became involved in large scale business in the hills and plains south of Thak Khola. The business included, among others things, a cigarette - monopoly in Western Nepal, a timber-business and a rice-mill. A reliable non-Thakali informant considered this house to have been among the one hundred richest households in Nepal. The father and his sons were also deeply involved in politics, first in Thak Khola and the surrounding areas, and later at the national level.

There were, according to informants, several reasons why the elder brothers of this household did not leave their natal home and establish their own at the marriage of a younger brother. The father and his sons were influenced by the Hindu values and had no intention of following the Thakali tradition, if there was no good reason to do so. On the other hand, there were several reasons to stay together. Investments had been made in many distant places and the father had problems in finding trustworthy managers other than his sons. Furthermore, the family was involved in a conflict with the father's elder brother and his sons, especially concerning the economic and political leadership in Thak Khola and the surrounding areas.

The conflicts of the joint household, as discussed above, were latent in this household. The father was an authoritarian and could keep his sons together. However, at his death, the sons are said to have started to quarrel over money (one of the sons is known as a business wizard, another as a big spender) and separated into five independent households. The rice-mill is still owned jointly and the profit shared among the brothers.

One of the present lineal-collateral joint family households resembles this case. The household owns several enterprises, including a big horticulture farm, a joiner's shop, a carpet factory, and some local hotels, among the best in Thak Khola. The father and the eldest son are also deeply involved in politics. The kinship relations between the members are unusual in that the wife of the eldest son is the younger sister of the wife of the younger brother. According to informants, the fact that the daughter-in-laws are sisters is one of the major reasons why this household is not troubled by the usual conflicts found in the households based upon lineal-collateral families.

The father will soon reach the age of 61 years and will then have to retire. I have been informed that his two sons will then, according to a local rule, have to split into two separate households. If this information is correct (cf. Note 14), it will mean that a local jural rule partially accounts for the lack of collateral joint family households that include married brothers above the age of eighteen years whose father is either dead or retired.²⁶

Household Labour and the Labour Market

Most Thakali households control no more land and animals than the household can exploit with its own resources.²⁷ The two yearly harvests are, however, very labour intensive and most households are, during harvest, in need of extra labour. There are also several households with so much land and animals, that they need outside labour, especially at harvest. This problem is solved through hiring labour and through cooperative labour exchange between households.

The labour market in Thak Khola includes mainly four categories of workers. First, there are Tibetan-speaking workers from the areas north of Thak Khola who come every year in the early summer to help with the first harvest. They number more than one hundred persons and come from Baragaun and especially Lo, but also from Charka in Dolpo district. These workers stay from four to six weeks, first in the southern part where the harvest starts, and later in the northern part.

Secondly, Hindus from the areas south of Thak Khola come to the valley to work because the wages in Thak Khola are higher than in the south. Prices are also higher, but if thrifty, one can save more in Thak Khola than in the south. The Tibetan-speaking workers are of both sexes; they come in groups and stay for a short period, working in many different households. The Hindus are all men, they come as individuals, and stay for half a year or longer, working in only one or two Thakali households. The Hindus work as general helpers in the households, or as herdsmen for households with sheep, goats, yaks, or mules.

Third, there are local workers from the occupation castes, also known as the "low" castes (sānu jāt, nep.). The low castes staying permanently in Thak Khola are tailors (ḍulī, th.) and blacksmiths (ṛemī, th.). Each village usually has a few tailor and blacksmith households, but a village like Taglung has more than a dozen. The low caste households own little or no land, and their income from their traditional work as tailors and blacksmiths is poor. Therefore, they have to market their labour in order to survive. The low castes usually work as labourers for short periods in different Thakali households. There are also low caste men who work for longer periods as herdsmen.

Fourth, there are the poor Thakalis with little or no land who also need to sell their labour in order to survive. They work for short periods in different Thakali households or for longer periods as herdsmen, especially with mules.

Inter-household cooperation is another way of solving the labour problem. The Thakalis resort to many forms of such cooperation, but all are geared toward a more efficient utilization of available resources, or are used to cut risks involved with investments, especially in animals. Under the form known as gusārī (th.), sheep, goats, yaks, and mules from different households are herded as joint property. The households involved share the profit and cover any loss made on the herd according to their share of the animals. A newborn animal is thus a common gain, while the death of an animal is a loss for all the owners of the joint herd. Gusārī takes place mostly between closely related households, e.g. the households of two brothers, but can also take place between more distantly related households.

Under another form of cooperation, animals from separate households are herded together, but as individually owned animals. The households divide common costs--especially the herdsman's salary--according to their share. Unlike gusārī, however, the households continue to receive their own separate profit or loss on the individually owned animals.

Cooperation more often involves labour instead of animals. One form of labour cooperation resembles gusārī. Each winter a large number of younger women, especially among the Mawaatan and the Yhulkaasummi, travel to the hills and plains south of Thak Khola, where, for half the year, they run local-style hotels and restaurants (bhaṭṭi, nep.). Several of the women are the only female members from their household who migrate south. They will often find one or more other women they know with which to operate a bhaṭṭi. The women in these temporary, joint enterprises share all work and all expenses, eat from the same stock, and share the profit equally among themselves. The women, like the people taking part in gusārī are usually relatives. For example, the husbands of two sisters had a herd of mules together as gusārī, while one of the sisters operated a bhaṭṭi together with her sister's husband's sister.

Another form of cooperation are the temporary labour groups formed in most Thakali villages during harvests. One or two members from several households join such a group which can include from only a few to more than a dozen members, usually women. They work one day in the fields of one member, and then the next day in the fields of another member. This continues until the party has been in the fields of all the members for an equal number of days.

Conclusion

The nuclear family household is the ideal norm among the Thakalis and is also the most frequent household type. This high frequency of nuclear family households is mainly a function of the developmental cycle of the household. The newlywed couples join the household of the husband's father, but stay there only for a few years and then establish their own independent household, at the latest, when a younger brother of the husband marries. The Thakalis state that they do this in order to avoid the conflicts latent in the household based upon the lineal-collateral family. This explanation seems sound, and my suggestion is that the Thakalis' preference for the nuclear family household is primarily a product of these social considerations.

The landholdings in Thak Khola are often small and close to the villages, and can be utilized with the labour of a nuclear family household or that of the lineal joint family household. Therefore, it could be argued, that the Thakalis' preference for nuclear family households is more influenced by ecological and economic conditions than by social considerations. This thesis is attractive, but it misses the fact that there are several Thakali households which control so much land and animals that they need more labour than can be provided by a nuclear family household. Elder sons may, due to labour shortage, delay their departure from the joint household, but they will usually always leave when a

younger son marries -- even if it means a lack of labour. Another point is that the sons leaving a joint household receive only a small proportion of their total share. Therefore, the total amount of land, animals, and labour would often have been much better utilized, if more or all the married sons and their wives had stayed in a joint household. I argue, therefore, that it is primarily the social considerations, as explained above, rather than ecological and economic conditions which determine the Thakalis' preference for the nuclear family household.

Finally, it is important to note that the existence of a labour market and cooperation is a condition - but not a primary cause - for the high frequency of nuclear family households and the lack of households based upon the lineal-collateral joint family. The distribution of household types would certainly have looked different, had it not been possible to sell and buy labour in Thak Khola.

This conclusion is likely to be valid not only for the Thakalis but for many other patrilineal settled agriculturalists as well. I would expect that in general, in those agricultural societies where the frequency of nuclear family households is high, a labour market would also be found.

Notes

1. I am grateful to the Danish Research Council for the Humanities under the Royal Danish Government, for financing my fieldwork in Nepal. Thanks are due to Krishnalal Thakali, who assisted me for more than a year in the field, and to Professor Johannes Nicolaisen, Copenhagen University, who as my supervisor has been a constant source of encouragement and stimulation. Special thanks are due to Jim Ross, Case Western Reserve University, who read and commented on an early draft of the paper.
2. See Iijima (1960), Jest (1966), Bista (1967), Fürer-Haimendorf (1975), and Gauchan and Vinding (1977) for an introduction to the Thakalis.
3. The joint family household is among Hindus an ideal, but not behavioral norm. There is in fact in most Hindu communities a higher frequency of nuclear family households than joint family households (cf. Shah 1974).
4. Mohme (th.) may derive from ma-smad (tib.), "mother and children", cf. Jäschke (1881: 426).

5. Nī māh syāng (th.) refers to a kinship unit or group which includes the male members of a particular patrilineal descent unit or group (syāng), the women who were born into that unit or group (nī), and the husbands of these women (māh), cf. Vinding (1979b)
6. Among Hindus a woman's opportunity to marry a man of high social status is often related to the amount of dowry (dāijo, nep.) she brings with her. Economic considerations have traditionally never been, and are in general still not, important in the selection of a spouse among the Thakalis.
7. According to Turner (1931: 389), pewā (nep.) as an adjective means "special, peculiar, or own", while as a substantive it means "the private property of a married woman given her by her parents, dowry". However, the section on Inheritance Rights of Women in the Legal Code of the Nepalese law notes that "movable or immovable assets gifted in writing by the husband or by relatives on the husband's side, and any increment made or occurring thereto, is considered pewa" (Nepal Press Digest 1972: 40). Further, I have found among Tamangs in Darjeeling District in India a custom similar to su nar sāwa (th.) and there it is known as pewā (nep.). We may thus conclude, that pewā generally refers to the special or private property of a married or an unmarried woman.
8. For information on the Thakali subdivisions, see Gauchan and Vinding (1977: 97-99), Vinding (1978: 183), and Vinding (1979a: 192-193).
9. To divorce is known as peh piwa (th.), "to dispose of the wife", from a male point of view. From a female point of view it is known as syāng sa yān yewa (th.), "to return to the soil of the syāng". Syāng (th.) refers for women to the male members of their family of procreation, especially their brothers. Divorces are relatively infrequent among the Thakalis, perhaps as few as 10% of all marriages result in divorce. Divorces usually only take place in the first years of marriage, when the couple are still without children. Divorce between a couple who have been married for several years and have children is extremely uncommon.
10. Gor dhuwāi (nep.) refers among Hindus to the ceremony of washing the bride's feet while gor dhuwā or gor dhuwā dhan (nep.) refer to the presents the bride receives from her nearest relatives on this occasion.
11. Most Thakali parents only agree to give away their daughters, when the husband-to-be has signed a paper stating the rights and obligations of both parties in the marriage - especially

the rights of the wife and the obligations of her husband. This paper is known as srungpa (th.), which generally refers to amulets. This paper, the amulet of the bride, is kept by her parents. It is an important document in case of conflict because the wife can always claim a right to divorce if her husband has broken the conditions of the agreement.

12. Manzardo evidently found that the inheritance system of the Thakalis was quite different from what he had previously thought because he adds in his article that "subsequent research has shown that the most common form of inheritance among the Thakali is the equal shares for all male heirs' system, the most prevalent form in Nepal". (Manzardo 1977b: 79).
13. When an illegitimate son (ngelu, th.) of a Thakali man grows up and wants to establish himself, he may claim some property from his father if the latter is still alive. The illegitimate son will then receive a one-time-only payment and can claim nothing upon the father's death.
14. The households have certain rights and obligations toward the village community, e.g. the right and obligation to send a representative to the village assembly, and the obligation to provide labour for communal work when required. These rights and obligations depend on the social status of the household, ownership to land, and on the residence of a man in the household between 18 and 61 years of age. Only households with a male member in that age range have the right and obligation to send a representative to the village assembly. The partition of a household is thus not only a matter of concern for the household members, but also of concern to the village community whose representatives keep records on each household in the village.
15. I am uncertain whether or not a man who reaches 61 years is obligated to divide his property, and the information needs thus further verification.
16. The most important part of the traditional Thakali wedding is khimi cuwā (th.), during which the bride switches membership from the patrilineal descent group of her father to that of her husband.
17. There is also the possibility of appeal to the representatives of the Nepalese Government to resolve the conflict according to the Nepalese law, but this is only seldom done.

18. See Nepal Press Digest (1973), Acharya (1977), Shrestha (1977) for women's property rights, and especially women's right to inherit paternal property.
19. In Hindu societies and in Tibetan-speaking societies, married daughters and not the brothers' sons usually inherit the property from a man without sons. In such cases, one of the daughters and her husband joins her parents' household, and their sons will eventually take over their mother's father's property. This household type is not found among the Thakalis, where brother's sons rather than married daughters, as a rule inherit the property after a man without sons. I have, however, been informed of two exceptions. One case occurred in a village which for decades, and against tradition, had been ruled by a particular family. One of the grandsons of this family was to marry the daughter of a rich man without sons; thus his family became a temporary exception to the inheritance system. The grandson's wife became entitled as the heir to her father's property and she and her husband stayed after their marriage in a joint household with her father.
20. The heads of 121 Thakali households were asked their opinion about women's rights to inherit paternal property. First, they were asked whom they thought should inherit the property of a man without any sons. 26 refused to give their opinion, or had no opinion. 38 thought the property should be given to the siki while 37 thought it should be given to the daughters. The last six thought the property should be given to those persons who had cared for the aging man. Secondly, the heads were asked if they thought daughters should have the same rights to paternal property as sons. Only two or three thought so, while all others were against this. One informant noted that, according to tradition, it was the sons and not the daughters who would inherit their father's property or debts and that daughters after their marriage should live on the property of their husbands.
21. Jest (1975: 213) reports that the average number of people in the households in Tarap in Dolpo District is 4.1, while Schuler (1977: 81) in a study on the Tibetan-speaking peoples of Baragaun notes that the average number is 4.8. Messerschmidt (1976: 39) reports 5.0 for Gurungs, while Caplan (1972: 20) notes that the average number in Brahmin households in Belaspur District is 6.0.
22. Poor parents-in-law could also let their son-in-law carry a part of their debt. This custom is known as ko nar sawā (th.). The amount is usually a few hundred rupees and would be paid back to the son-in-law, if the parents-in-law acquired money later.

23. The Yhulkaasummi agreed at their meeting in 1974 that a married woman could not be kept in her parents' household, and that offenders shall be fined fifty rupees. This rule was confirmed at the meeting in 1977.
24. The course of development described here is the usual one. There are, however, also some households which follow other courses than the usual one. It is, therefore, incorrect to talk about the developmental cycle of the Thakali household.
25. There are, however, several households among the Thakalis where the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is good. The Thakalis say that this is especially true for households where the husband and his wife are first generation cross-cousins. The daughter-in-law knows, in such cases, her parents-in-law and is usually on very good terms with her husband's younger sisters.
26. The raison d'etre for this rule is obvious. Communal work is ~~done with~~ a fixed number of members from each household regardless of size. Without this rule, brothers would perhaps stay together more often in order to reduce their obligations towards the village community.
27. The landholdings in Thak Khola are on the average relatively small. There are considerable variations according to the locality and the economic status of the household. The mean average size is, in the southern part, about two hectares, while in the northern part it is only about half a hectare. The fields in the southern part are not irrigated and the yield is significantly lower than in the northern part, where all the fields, except the relatively few mountain fields, are irrigated.

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Gwaye Da Tayegu: An Initial Ritual of the Samyaka Guthi

Sumon Kamal Tuladhar*

For the Newars of Nepal, the gwaye dā tayegu is a ritual announcement of a later, larger ceremony. This article discusses the rituals carried out in the gwaye dā tayegu ceremony which took place on Magh 1, 2035 (January 15, 1979). The rituals served to announce the Samyaka ceremony, which was observed on Magh 1, 2036 (January 15, 1980). The present discussion of the rituals is based on my own field observations of the gwaye dā tayegu and consultation with key informants who are in charge of the Samyaka ceremony. After describing the rituals, I discuss some of the key elements in relation to other features of religious and social life of Newar Buddhist.

The Samyaka is one of the Buddhist Newars' guthis. The guthi, an integral part of the Newar society, can be defined as an organization in which members belonging to one caste and sub-caste get together to perform certain religious rituals or social welfare activities. In general, all members of the guthi get together once a year, and on these occasions feasting is always involved. The economic foundation of most guthis is the organization's land. One of the members or a group of members takes charge of the guthi and assumes overall responsibility.

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Members of the guthi serve in this way on a rotational basis. The rules of the guthi are very strict, and no member can overlook his duties without the sanction of a fine or loss of membership.

Among the Newars there are different types of guthis each of which serves a different purpose. A few of the main ones are bājā guthi, sii guthi, sanā guthi, biḥā guthi and busā dā guthi. Some guthis are more religious in nature while others are oriented toward social welfare.

The Samyaka Guthi

The Samyaka guthi is an important religious guthi. This is one of the largest and most formal guthis which is ceremoniously convened once every twelve years. It is a Buddhist guthi in which the King, the Buddhist priests and lay Buddhist Newars are involved. As most Buddhist Newars are followers of the Vajrayāna sect, the rituals carried out in this ceremony are based on the Vajrayāna rules and regulations. In the Vajrayāna rituals the priest plays a leading role along with the eldest members of the guthi.

Two priests are needed for the Samyaka ceremony - one for performing pujā (worship) and the other for reading out the invitation scroll. For the performance of the pujā, the family priest of the eldest members of the guthi is responsible, while for the recitation of the scroll, another priest is appointed by the Samyaka Committee members on the basis of a person's good voice and skill in reciting.

The purpose of the Samyaka guthi is not in clear agreement. Some lay Buddhists believe that this guthi is similar to the Sanghāyāna¹, whose purpose is to gather the monks and discuss and evaluate how properly Buddhism is being lived among its adherents. Therefore at the time of the Samyaka all the Buddhist priests from different viḥāras² (monasteries) come together. These Buddhist priests are well known by the names of Gubhāju and Bare among the Newars. Since the Buddhist Newars are the followers of Vajrayāna, their concentration is on the images of gods and goddesses and worshipping these images. Thus at the time of the Samyaka the images of Dipankar Buddha³ and other gods and goddesses are assembled, and the King takes part in this ceremony. The service to the guthi activities are provided by the lay Buddhists.

Vajrayāna Buddhism entails three main types of ritual - pujā (worship), dān (gift), and bhojan (food offering). Among the various types of pujā, Sakhwāpā pujā is the highest; among the gifts, pancha dān (gift of five kinds) is the highest; and among the offered foods, the Samyaka bhojan is the highest. To observe the Samyaka guthi is to offer Samyaka bhojan to the Dipankar Buddha and the Vajrachārya priests. The Buddhist tradition is to offer bhojan to the monks. In the Samyaka, only the priests are offered bhojan by the lay Buddhists.

There is no record available to confirm when the Samyaka guthi came into existence in Nepal. The Buddhist Newars believe that it has been held from time immorial. According to Indian historical source, the Samyaka dates back to the time of Harsha Vardhana, 1300 years ago. Harsha Vardhana, the king of India, was the contemporary

of Amsuvarma, an early seventh century king of Nepal. Harsha Vardhana used to observe this guthi every five years. However, my informants (1979) assert that the Samyaka guthi in Nepal has never been held regularly, on account of periodic political and social problems in the country.

Before the unification of Nepal under King Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Samyaka guthi is said to have been held in Kathmandu every four years. The members of the guthi came from three vihāras - (a) Lagan Bahāl (b) Wotu Bahāl, and (c) Itum Bahāl. Each vihāra used to organize the guthi by turns.

During the period when Prithvi Narayan Shah was unifying Nepal, the Samyaka guthi had to be put off due to the unstable political situation. Then King Prithvi Narayan Shah, after unification of Nepal, formed a committee to keep records and look after all guthis of the Newars. This committee was named Guthi Jānch Kachauri. He also came to know that the Samyaka guthi had not been observed for a long time so he sent for all the members of the guthi and ordered them to register the guthi under the Guthi Jānch Kachauri. Moreover, he also made the members of the guthi pay a fine of Rs. 160/- (called pān phul kharcha) for not having observed the Samyaka guthi in due time. He had the three groups of members from Lagan Bahāl, Wotu Bahāl, and Itum Bahāl combined together and ordered them to organize this guthi once every twelve years. However, any person, whether or not a member, can hold it any time if he is willing to sponsor it.

Gwaye Dā̃ Tayegu as a Ritual

Whoever sponsors the Samyaka guthi, the gwaye dā̃ tayegu ritual must be observed one year before the date when the Samyaka guthi is going to be held.

In Newari, gwaye literally means 'nuts'; dā̃, 'coin'; and tayegu, 'offering'. In the context of Newari culture, giving gwaye plays a very important role in announcing a decision to hold a formal ceremony. In marriage, for example, a would-be-groom's family sends gwaye to a prospective bride's family to announce that the marriage has been arranged. Similarly, gwaye is also offered to temples and the royal palace before the Dikchhyā (Dekhā)⁴ ceremony and in many other ceremonies.

One main purpose of the gwaye dā̃ tayegu ritual is to announce the date when the Samyaka guthi will be held and to invite the King and the images of the Buddha. The ritual is carried out by the members⁵ of the Samyaka guthi. The treasurer is involved in managing the guthi, but all the religious activities are carried out by the guthi priests.

Observations

The gwaye dā̃ tayegu ritual was held on the following day, time, and place:

Date: Sanlhu, 1099; Magh 1, 2035 (January 15, 1979)

Day : Sanlhu; Makar Sakranti

Time: 10:30 A.M.

Place: Swayambhu

All the members of the guthi and their relatives gathered on the top of the Swayambhu hill. The group of women, close relatives of the guthi members, arranged trays with several ingredients of pujā. At the same time a group of men were busy arranging pujā offerings. Meanwhile the guthi members and their relatives were going round and round the stupa of Swayambhu with the gulā bāja⁶ (musical band) ahead of them. The head priest was



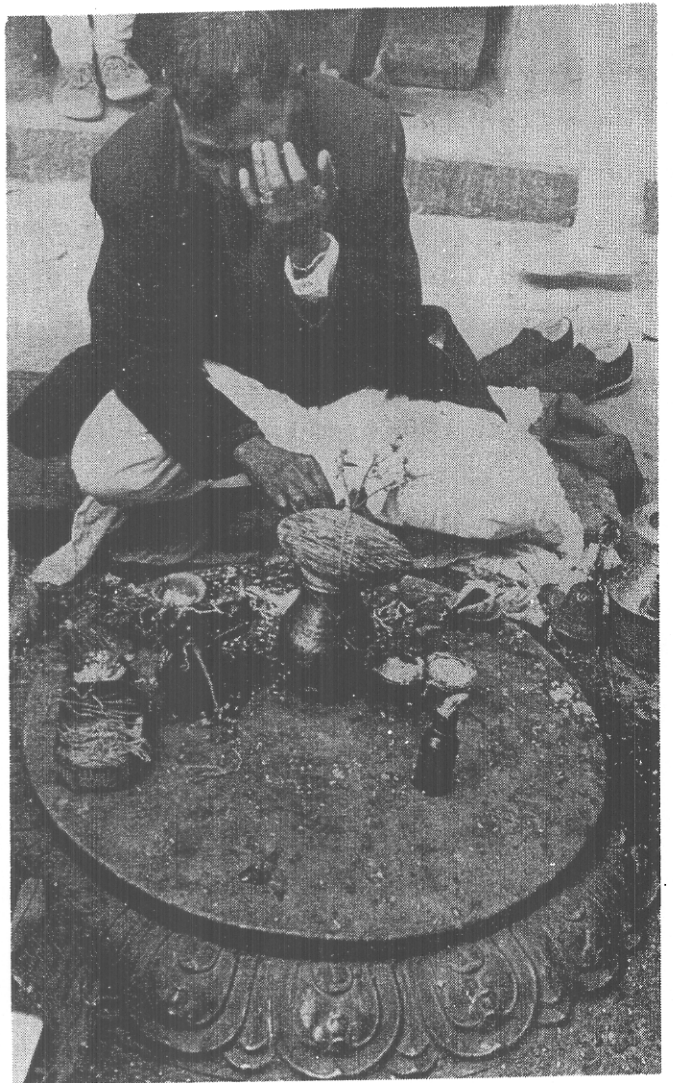
Ingredients of pujā

busy setting up the materials for worship at the mandala⁷ (circle) in front of the Amitābhva (image of the Buddha). All the participants had badges, some yellow and some pink, that had been distributed among the guthi members and their close relatives. Those with pink badges were registered to pay homage to the King. Those with yellow badges could enter the Royal Palace but would not get an

audience with the King.

The head priest, who was sitting in front of the mandala was wearing a red band of cloth, about five inches wide, around his shoulder. The materials for kalashcharan puja were set out on the mandala in front of the Amitābhva shrine facing the west. Included were a kalash (jar for holy water), pasukā (a ball of five different coloured threads entangled together), dipa (a butter lamp) and dhau pati (yoghurt). The red band worn by the head priest stands for the cheevara which is worn by the monks. Theravada monks wear yellow cheevara, but the Vajrayāna priests put on red cheevara to perform pujā.

Wearing the red band, the priest performed kalashcharan puja on the mandala. It is an initial pujā in the gwaye dā tayegu ceremony. This pujā is often done in the beginning of any



The kalashcharan puja at the mandala.

religious ritual. It carries a special reference to the myth of Karunamaya, a god of compassion (Locke, 1973). According to the myth, Karunamaya was brought to Nepal with the combined effort of King Narendradev of Bhaktapur, a jiyāpu (farmer) from Lalitpur and a priest from Kāntipur. The priest, by means of a tantric mantra (formula of words), called upon Karunamaya who turned into a bee and got into a kalash. In this way Karunamaya was brought to the country. The Newars say that if a priest chants a mantra and performs kalashcharan puja gods and goddesses required for occasion come into a kalash. The kalash can then be taken to any place where the auspicious rituals will occur.

As the gwaye dā tayegu ceremony is a ritual invitation to gods and goddesses to attend the Samyaka Guthi, the kalashcharan puja was done in front of Amitābhava, the main image of Lord Buddha at Swayambhu.

For the performance of the kalashcharan puja, one kalash for pure water and a ball of pasukā (five coloured threads), a butter lamp, and dhau pati (yoghurt) are needed. Each coloured thread represents each of the five meditating Buddhas - Amitābhava, Ratna Sambhava, Achhyovya, Amongh Sidhi, and Bairochan. Their colours are red, yellow, blue, dark blue, and white respectively. These five coloured threads make a ball of pasukā; its full formal name is pancha sutra kā. Its function in the puja is to pull the god out of the temple to the mandala.

Dhau pati is a pair of two small bowls joined together, each filled with yoghurt. They represent the sun and the moon that are called down to the earth from the heaven to witness the puja.

The head priest did the pujā with little bell in his left hand ringing it almost constantly and at the same time occasionally sprinkling rice from his right hand. This is the common procedure for making offerings to the image in the Vajrayāna. During this pujā, the eldest members of the guthi were sitting next to the head priest.

In the middle of the pujā the priest asked three principal members of the guthi to come near him with their wives. One of the characteristics of the Vajrayāna pujā is ~~that~~ in order to make a major offering, a man and his spouse must participate together. If the man is without his spouse, he can ask another, a wife of his elder or younger brother, to join him in the pujā.

Three couples and the treasurer went up to the head priest and formed a semi-circle. Women were dressed in colourful clothes and the men were also dressed up formally for the occasion. The priest put a betel-leaf, ten gwaye (nuts), and a coin on their palms and chanted a mantra. In the meantime, the other priest with the red band of cloth across his shoulder appeared with a scroll. He started reciting the dānpatra, an invitation card meant to be read out. He read out the date, the name of the King, the name of the place, and the names of the guthi members. The text of the dānpatra invited all of these people to attend the Samayaka guthi in the coming year.

When the priest finished reciting the dānpatra, the couples went to the image of Amitābhva Buddha and placed the gwaye dā (gift of nuts) at the shrine. They also offered kislee and nislā to the image. A kislee is a



The recitation of the dānpatra.

small vessel full of rice in which are placed an incense stick, a coin, and a nut. The vessel is made of clay, about two inches and a half in diameter. It is round and looks like a bowl and saucer. A nislā is a plate full of husked rice or beaten rice with any kind of sweetmeat on it. It is generally offered to the temples and the priests as dān (alms).

After making offerings to the image of Amitābhva, the eldest guthi couple offered arga when the head priest, who was still chanting mantras, instructed them to do so. The people involved in offerings to the god cannot do anything without the priest's cue because he is the only one who can provide a link between the worshippers and the god.



The guthi members offering a nislā to Amitābhva

The arga offering consists of water, cow's milk, situ (doop grass), and dāpha swā (a kind of jasmine). These are put into a conch shell and poured out in front of the gods and goddesses while the priest chants mantras. The cow's milk and doop grass are considered signs of purity. Dāpha swā, a kind of jasmine, is a special flower required for arga because this flower was offered for the first time to Swayambhu by Vishwabhu Tathāgata when he came to pay homage to the Swayambhu stupa (Shakya, Nepal Era 1098). This arga pujā is performed to ask the earth to be a witness of what is being done.

The main party, a group of guthi members and their wives, moved to the images of Amoghīdhi, Achchyovya, Bairochan, Ratnasambhava, and the other four images of Saptalochani, Māmaki, Pandura, and Tārā to offer kislee. Meanwhile the remaining party offered the sweets, fruits,

rice and so on to the image of Amitābhva. Amitābhva is the main image of the meditative Buddha, so kalashcharan puja was performed for him only. Then the party moved to Azimā⁸ (the female deity situated at the Swayambhu hill) and performed the puja of gwaye dā, arga, dānpatra recitation, offering of kislee, nislā and so on. Then they went to a special image of Buddha, which is brought out on the occasion of Samyaka to offer kislee.

Then the whole group moved over to Shantipur⁹ which is located a few steps down from the proper Swayambhu stupa in a north-west direction. Here a different type of puja was carried out. The puja is called lassiwā jwalan and is done with buffalo meat, beer and liquor. This puja is, of course, done only to the deities who accept these substances and it is never done to non-tantric images of Buddha.

When this puja was finished, the offering of gwaye dā, the arga puja, recitation of the dānpatra and offering of kislee were performed as had been done earlier to other images of Buddha. The group then came back to Swayambhu and headed from the east steps¹⁰ towards the Vijeshwari temple at the Vishnumati to offer the gwaye dā puja to the goddess Ākāsh Jogini there. In the same way they went to Machhendra Bahāl, Itum Bahāl, Lagan Bahāl, the Royal Palace and Wotu Bahāl where the same puja was carried out. The chart on the following page shows the places, the names of the images and the type of puja done in the gwaye dā tayegu ceremony.

The chart showing the type of pujā done, the names of the images, and the names of places:

Type of <u>pujā</u>	Name of the images	Name of places
<u>Gwaye dā̃</u>	Azimā	Swayambhu
i. <u>lassiwā</u> ii. <u>gwaye dā̃</u>	Shāntipur	Swayambhu
<u>Gwaye dā̃</u>	Special Image of Buddha	Swayambhu
i. <u>Kalashcharan pujā</u> ii. <u>Gwaye dā̃</u>	Amitābhva	Swayambhu
<u>Kislee</u>	Ratna Sambhava	Swayambhu
<u>Kislee</u>	Achchyobhya	Swayambhu
<u>Kislee</u>	Amogh Siddhi	Swayambhu
<u>Kislee</u>	Bairochan	Swayambhu
<u>Kislee</u>	Saptalochani Māmaki Pāndurā Tārā	Swayambhu
i. <u>Kislee</u> ii. <u>Gwaye dā̃</u>	Ākāsh Jogini	Vijeshwari
<u>Kislee</u>	i. Kwāpā deo ii. Tārā deo	Itum Bahāl
i. <u>Gwaye dā̃</u> ii. <u>Arga</u> iii. <u>Kislee</u>	The King	The Royal Place
<u>Kislee</u>	Karunamaya	Machendra Bahāl
<u>Kislee</u>	Buddha	Lagan Bahāl
<u>Kislee</u>	Buddha	Wotu Bahāl



Participants with nislā on the way to the Royal Palace

For gwaye dā̃ tayegu, there is no strict route to follow to go to the temples or make offerings, and any gods and goddesses can be offered gwaye dā̃.

After visiting all the places the party separated. As mentioned earlier, the three principal members of the Samyaka guthi invited their relatives to join the procession. The procession then separated into four groups - the three principal groups and one group with the treasurer. The members reported that in the older days all the participants of the gwaye dā̃ ritual used to feast together, but these days the group separates into smaller groups and each has a separate feast at its convenience. The gwaye dā̃ ritual was completed with the grand feast.

One notable characteristic of the Newar Buddhists in this ritual is the participation of the relatives of the officiants. Although the relatives are not involved in the pujā itself they are there to make a pleasant gathering and to participate in the feast.



Worshipping the King on the occasion of the gwaye dā tayegu ceremony.

Conclusions

Gwaye dā tayegu is a ritual proclamation that the Samyaka guthi is going to be held after one year. The Newars observe this ceremony not only in Samyaka but also in other ceremonies such as Dekhā, Bratabandha, Sichchā puja¹¹ and for weddings.

According to the mangal sutra¹² of Vajrayāna, auspiciousness is symbolized with dadhi, phal, kusuma. In Sanskrit, dadhi is the yoghurt, phal is the fruit, and kusuma is the flower. These three items symbolize auspiciousness throughout Newar rituals. Gwaye (nuts) is classified as a fruit. Gwaye is used as the ritual 'fruit' because of its ever-lasting quality¹³.

The starting pujā of the gwaye dā tayegu ritual takes place at Swayambhu because the Buddhists in Nepal believe that the origin of the human settlement in the Kathmandu valley started from the Swayambhu hill (Shakya, Nepal Era 1098). To represent the four Yoginis¹⁴, Ākāsh Yogini is offered gwaye dā. It was not offered to the other three Yoginis because only Ākāsh Yogini is on the way to the town from Swayambhu. In addition, people say that one of the Yoginis represents the other three and that one Karunamaya represents all four Karunamayas. Karunamayas are located at Patan, Nālā, Chovār and Matsyendra Bahāl. Gwaye dā is offered only to the one at Matsyendra Bahāl, Kathmandu. The King is offered gwaye dā as well. He is considered as a protector of the country, as are other gods and goddesses, as well as the head of the nation¹⁵.

The gwaye dā ritual is observed exactly one year before the date of the Samyaka guthi. Samyaka can be observed by any one who is interested in it and wealthy enough to sponsor it, but two Samyakas in the same year are forbidden. Therefore one year before, a person who wants to sponsor the ceremony has to announce it through the gwaye dā ritual. Once gwaye dā is offered, the Samyaka guthi is confirmed to be held in the coming year. These days the Samyaka guthi is confined to three

particular bahāls - Lagan Bahāl, Wotu Bahāl, and Itum Bahāl because the people from these three bahāls fund this guthi. The guthi is still running with their money invested in land.

The gwaye dā tayegu ritual reflects the life style of the Buddhist Newars. Although the ritual is just one part of the Samyaka ritual it gives a panoramic view of Vajrayāna Buddhism and the social organization of the Buddhist Newars.

The Buddhist Newars of Kathmandu are organized as a well-knit society. Gods and goddesses are inseparable from their life. Their treatment to them is similar to their treatment of important human beings. In any formal ceremony, invitation cards are issued, and in the Newar Buddhist society the invitation is given with special ritual without distinguishing the human beings from gods and goddesses. The invitation scroll (dānpatra) contains a theme similar to that of invitation cards for social occasions among people. Vajrayāna Buddhism has been heavily influenced by tantrism, so the rituals are carried out through symbols like dhau pati (signifying sun and moon) and pancha sutra kā (signifying the five threads that 'pull' the god from the temple). The gwaye dā tayegu ritual also gives a clear picture of the main difference between Theravāda Buddhism and Vajrayāna Buddhism. Theravāda stresses self-purification leading to Niravāna while Vajrayāna focuses on the worshipping of gods and goddesses, which leads to Niravāna. The former attempts to minimize social entanglement while the latter maximizes social activities, packed with tantric decoration. The gwaye dā tayegu itself is an example of the latter.

The Vajrayāna Buddhists have faith in priests as mediators between gods and human beings. Therefore their religious life is marked by the performing of very formal rituals. In addition, compared to many other Asian societies, Vajrayāna Buddhists give more equal ritual status to men and women. In the gwaye dā tayegu ritual a pair of man and woman is required to offer arga pujā. In any formal ritual men and women go hand in hand because the Vajrayāna Buddhists believe that the whole universe is created with pragya and upaya¹⁶, symbolizing female and male energy. The three senior pairs who participated in the gwaye dā tayegu ritual performed the arga pujā. These three male-female pairs are considered superior to all other during this ceremony.



Offering of dānpatra to the King after its recitation.

Social activities of the Buddhist Newars concentrate on gods and goddesses, priests, and relatives. These three entities are so intertwined that absence of any one will be considered out of order. As shown here, gods and goddesses, priests and relatives of the guthi members were all ceremoniously invited during the gwaye dā tayegu ritual.



The head priest and the thākuli entreating the King to attend the Samyaka guthi.

Notes

1. Sanghāyāna is a Pali word. It means a conference in which the monks gather together to discuss ways to improve and flourish the religion. According to the.

Theravāda text, soon after the death of Buddha, Bhikkshu Mahākāsyapa held Sanghāyāna under the management of the contemporary King Ajātsatru. It was held in Saptapāni Guphā, the cave which is still preserved in Rajgriha, India.

2. Vihāra means a place where the monks live. According to one theory in the early days these viharas (bahāls) were all places for celebrated monks to live in.
3. According to Buddhist history, Deepankar Buddha is the fourth Buddha and Gautam Buddha is the 25th one. He is regarded as one of the human gods. According to the Sumedha Jātak, Deepankar was the teacher of Gautam Buddha in his previous birth. Whoever organizes Samyaka must have an image of Deepankar made. When the pujā in Samyaka is to be offered to the special image of Buddha, the organizer gets into the image of Deepankar Buddha and performs the pujā. All the images of Deepankar Buddha are gathered at the time of the Samyaka ceremony.
4. Dikkshyā is one of the formal rituals of the Vajrayāna Buddhist (Allen, 1973). With this ritual people are supposed to become more spiritually advanced than other lay Buddhists. When the people who have undertaken this ritual pass away a special kind of ritual is performed before cremation.
5. The members are all from the Newar and Vare community while the treasurer is from the Uray community.

6. This is a special kind of musical band which is one of the main bands the Newars use for their religious activities. During the month of Gunlā, which falls in July-August, the band goes to Swayambhu early morning. There is a guthi for this kind of musical band in many Newar settlements.
7. Mandala is a circle in front of the main image of the gods. Mandalas are made of brass or stone. They are used for pujās which call upon gods. The outer rings of mandalas differ according to the type of gods. For those gods who take meat and drinks the outer ring has six corners (khatkona) while a mandala for Buddha has petals of lotus.
8. Azimā is a female deity who is worshipped by Hindus as well as Buddhists. She was formerly a gaintess who lived on human children. She has many children but she loves her youngest one most. One day Buddha hid her youngest child. She looked for her child crying desperately. She came across Buddha and asked him for her dearest child. Then Buddha gave her enlightenment. With the words of Buddha she stopped eating human children and started utilizing her mystic power to help direct the agricultural activities. She then became a care taker of all children, too. One can see people worshipping Azimā before plantation and after harvesting. And when children get serious illness one goes to offer pujā to this goddess. Her temple is at the right side of Amitabhva, facing south.
9. Shāntipur is a well-known sacred cave for Buddhists. It is not open for the general public, either Buddhists non-Buddhists. It is believed that there are seven

rooms one after another in the Shāntipur temple. In the pujā meat and drinks are offered because evil spirits (bhut pret) and tantric deities are believed to reside in the seven rooms

10. There are three different steps leading up to Swayambhu, one facing the east and the other two facing west. The steps facing east are the main entrance and the other two are the back entrances. The main steps are longer and steeper. According to the religious concepts of the Buddhist Newars, these steps are the most auspicious. Therefore, for any formal religious activities the people climb up to Swayambhu by these eastern steps.
11. This one of the formal and biggest pujās in Vajrayāna. In this pujā the stupa of Swayambhu is completely covered with flowers made out of wax. People believe that one needs tantric power to perform this pujā. The person must be thorough in tantrism and must be at the height of enlightenment so that after performing this pujā, he can pass away from the mortal body to eternity. After 300 years later this pujā was performed by a Guraju at Swayambhu on October 5, 1979.
12. According to Buddhist belief, mangal sutra contains the good things in life. Among these yoghurt, fruit, and flowers are also signs of good luck. Newars wish for good luck by offering these three things, known as sagan.
13. For the announcement of the engagement of marriage, gwaye is given to a bride. For the introduction of a new bride to the family of the groom, gwaye is also

given by the bride to members of her new family, wishing an ever-lasting relationship.

14. The followers of Vajrayāna place a high religious value on Swayambhu and the four Yoginis - Guheshwari, Ākāsh Yogini, Khadga Yogini, and Vajra Yogini.

Washing the King's feet with the water from Indra Kalash, symbolizing a ritual 'bath'.



15. According to oral tradition, in the age of Tretā Yug one Bodhisatwa called Manjushree established a city and named it Manjupatan. He also appointed the king, Dharmākar, by inviting all the gods from the heaven including the king Indra. Dharmākar was bathed with water from the Indra kalash. Since the, inviting the

King to the Samyaka guthi apparently came into practice. The ritual of giving the King a ritual 'bath' from the Indra kalash is still done during the Samyaka guthi.

16. Pragya, the female part, stands for the wisdom of Vajrayāna while upaya, the male part, for the method or practice of wisdom (Allen, 1973).

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The Medium Question in Nepalese Higher Education

Subhadra Subba*

"Language poses multiple problems for education because it is both curriculum content and learning environment, both the object of knowledge and a medium through which other knowledge is acquired" (Cazden 1973).

Introduction

This study surveys the problems of the language medium in the education system of Nepal. The discussion presented here is a shorter version of a sociolinguistic study of the Nepali language as the medium of higher education in Nepal. This study is based on a survey I carried out with the assistance of two researchers in 1979. The survey covered three multipurpose campuses located in the Far Western, the Middle, and the Eastern Development regions, and in Tribhuvan University's Institutes of Agriculture, Forestry, Engineering, Medicine, Law, and Education.

The purpose of this survey was to provide a clear picture of the language medium currently used in classes and examinations in order to help planners establish Nepali as the exclusive medium in higher education in Nepal by 1983 (2040).

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The basic conclusions of this study are that English currently remains the medium of instruction within tertiary education in Nepal; but a vast number of students do not have adequate English language skills, which places them at a disadvantage. The best solution to this problem would be to allow those students to use Nepali who opt for it.

Methodology

This survey was not based on a statistical research methodology. A decision was made not to employ formal questionnaires so as to avoid gathering "forced" reactions and feelings from students and teachers. Instead, the team undertook long sessions of informal talks with students and teachers, both in groups and individually, to note their attitudes and reactions to problems relating to the language medium question. A tape recorder was used to record actual language use in lectures and class discussions. Question papers and answer scripts were examined in order to find out which of the two languages (Nepali/English) was in most use.

Education in Nepal

The fundamental idea of the National Education System Plan is to tailor education for development. For this reason, a proactive and problem-oriented education plan has been prepared. In our view, however, this plan remains to be fully adapted to the country and its needs. Our hope is that education in Nepal does not become an abstract and idealized concept which is removed from the real situation and problems of the country.

The objectives of the NESP have been outlined by Mohsin (1975):

"The National Education System Plan undertakes to facilitate socio-economic mobility through the restructuring of the educational system into self-fulfilling units and by interjecting into their curricula a substantial applied and practical bias. Keeping this in view, significant emphasis has been focussed on the decentralisation of educational facilities to the country-side and on ensuring wider access to potentially talented students from disadvantaged strata and under-developed region."

In view of this statement, we should ask ourselves how far we have come in achieving our educational aims, or to what extent education for development in Nepal is actually carrying out its assigned tasks.

Higher Education in Nepal

It is difficult to define the goals of higher education, since higher education throughout the world is in a state of transition and change. However, there should be some basis for policy in higher education relating to questions, such as who should benefit from higher education and what should be the aim and content. According to the NESP (National Education System Plan) page 12, the main goal of higher education is to produce trained manpower.

Curriculum

Any educational curriculum should be purposefully designed to meet the needs of the specific society involved. But, before committees decide upon the design of our curriculum, we urgently require information relating to our country's problems, social conditions, national

demands and students' needs. A curriculum for Nepal should be based and rooted in the social context of our country. A foreign-derived curriculum may not function well for the needs of Nepal.

Quality in Education

Lately there have been many reports about the deteriorating quality of education in Nepal. The concept of quality in education for any country needs a sociological frame of reference. In determining our educational standard, we must first decide our priorities and these cannot be based on the criteria of developed nations.

Our needs are indeed quite different from that of most other developing countries. Ours is a country whose population was almost totally illiterate only 30 years ago. We are starting from scratch. It is unfair and misleading to compare Nepal with, for example, India, our closest neighbour, which has had a long and complex history of formal education. It would be very unrealistic to expect high quality in our educational system at this early stage. The mechanical application of foreign-designed theories and concepts will give rise to a welter of misconceptions and confusion in our schools.

We often tend to judge our educational quality by the products, i.e., by student performance. However, quality in education should be measured not only by products but should be appraised in terms of production processes as well as plans, policies and their implementation. We should count more on how our educational products can usefully contribute to our society than on

their scholarly attainments. Scholarship is an asset to which we may all aspire, but it is obvious that most of our students are not going to become teachers and scholars. We should not lose sight of the fact that the majority of our students come from diverse backgrounds and with varying needs.

Medium of Instruction

NESP outlines its policy on the medium of instruction as follows: "The medium of instruction in the primary and secondary schools will be Nepali. Other arrangements can be made only with the approval of His Majesty's Government. However, while teaching language other than Nepali, the medium of instruction may be in the language concerned. The medium of instruction in higher educational institutions will remain as it is now, pending alternative arrangements by HMG. The teaching medium and text books will be in Nepali, even in those areas where Nepali has yet to gain a wider currency and where students can understand Nepali only with difficulty. Teachers may, however, use regional languages for explanation purposes" (NESP, p.29).

But the medium question is not as simple as the NESP policy would suggest. The choice of a language medium cannot be appropriate if it is done without consideration of the actual language situation and sociolinguistic context of the country.

The medium of education is not only the language used in lectures and examinations- it is also the language of text books. And it is the language of everyday, informal

communication between teachers and students. Language can bring about a meaningful rapport between teachers and students, and the lack of linguistic competence can disturb this rapport and gradually dislodge one's faith in education.

Facts about Higher Education in Nepal

Since the implementation of the NESP (1972/2029), the Institutes of Agriculture, Forestry, Engineering, Medicine, Law, Education, Sanskrit, Science, Business Administration & Commerce, and Humanities and Social Sciences offer different levels of higher education in 79 campuses. This number is not fixed and it may expand. New extension campuses of different institutes are being opened, based on needs and resources, in 13 different zones (excluding only the Mahakali zone).

Degree-level education is offered at the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, General Sciences, Business Administration and Commerce, Sanskrit, and Education. The Institutes of Law, Agriculture, Medicine, and Engineering offer courses up to diploma level only, and the Institute of Forestry offers only certificate level course. Institutes such as Agriculture, Law, Engineering, Medicine, and Sanskrit have campuses which do not offer courses run by other Institutes. But so-called 'multi-purpose' campuses have been set up, which run classes offering different courses for different Institutes.

One strong contribution of the NESP has been to establish such multipurpose campuses in remote areas¹ of different development regions. Each multipurpose campus is set up with a view to catering the needs of neighbouring districts. This has removed a great handicap for those students from remote areas of Nepal who cannot go to Kathmandu or India. It has also allowed students to receive higher education oriented to their interests and aptitudes.

Though they use uniform curricula and textbooks and have similar administrative structures, these campuses are unequal as regards both their intellectual and material resources -- e.g. qualified teachers, library and laboratory facilities, equipment, buildings, etc. Most of the campuses are poorly prepared. The single criterion for admission to higher education -- namely the S.L.C. degree -- does not mean that students of outlying campuses will be at the same level as those at the Kathmandu valley campuses. Such an attempt would be a mistake. Access to higher education opened up in outlying areas only a few years ago while the Kathmandu valley students have had a longer history of exposure to modern knowledge, various means of communication, and developmental issues. They have clearly enjoyed greater opportunities than of others in Nepal. Most of the outlying campuses came into existence only after 1972. It will involve considerable time, patience and sympathetic guidance before an average student from campuses outside the Kathmandu valley is on an equal footing with the average student from the Kathmandu campuses. For example, we should evaluate the science students at the Nepalgunj

campus with understanding and human insight rather than mechanically applying the academic scale which we might use to judge the science students at Amrit or Tri-Chandra Science campuses².

Many of our outlying campuses have been born out of the need of the people. Intractable socio-economic problems are coupled with our difficult geographical terrain. These problems, though similar everywhere, vary in magnitude from campus to campus. Our educational plans and policies should be down-earth, related to the concrete situations, and with only the necessary minimum of theoretical focus. Even theoreticians would not like to see the country divided into haves and have-nots. Our plans and policies should be democratic and egalitarian in an effort to lift the socially and academically weaker to the level of the stronger, and to encourage equal confidence in all.

Language Use at Campuses Visited

This section summarizes the situations of actual language use at the campuses visited. By language use we mean the medium used for class lectures and discussions, and written questions and answers during examinations

Table 1. Information on Multipurpose & Extension Campuses visited during field study.

S. No.	Name of Institution	Courses offered	Total No. of students (1)* Home Dist.	Language use for class lecture	Examinations
1.	Mahendra Multi-purpose Campus, Nepalgunj	Cert.-Hum., Com., Law, Science, Dip. Hum.	1 386	2 Nep. & Eng.	Nep.-most Eng.-Rare Eng.-Science
2.	Thakur Ram Campus, Birgunj	Cert.-Hum, Edu., Com., Science dip.-Hum, edu., & Com.	47 767	31 Nep. & Eng.	Nep.-most Eng.-Few Eng. (Science)
3.	Mahendra Morang Adarsha Multi-purpose Campus, Biratnagar	Cert.-Hum., Com., Science, Dip.-Hum., Science, Com., Dig.- Com.	1324	24 Nep. & Eng.	Nep.-Most Eng.-Few Eng.- (Science)
4.	Hathishar Science Campus, Dharan	Cert.- General Science, Food & Technology.	87 15	Nep. & Eng.	English

Campus Registers of Shrawan 2035 Admission.

Table 2. Information on Central Campuses of the Institutes of Forestry, Agriculture, Engineering, Education, Medicine and Law.

S.No.	Name of Institution	Came under T.U. as Institutes	Courses offered	Language use	
				for class lectures	for Examination
1.	Institute of forestry Hetauda	1972	Senior & Junior Cert.	Nep. & Eng.	Nep. & Eng.
2.	Institute of Agriculture, Rampur	1972	Cert., Dip. & Extension programme, Applied Research	Nep. & Eng.	Nep. & Eng.
3.	Institute of Engineering, Pulchowk, Lalitpur.	1972	Cert. & Dip. in Civil Engineering. Trade Course, Refresher and Upgrading Course, Civil Aviation, Telecommunication.	Nep. & Eng.	Eng. Most. Nep. Few
4.	Institute of Medicine, Maharajganj, Kath.	1972	Cert. General Medicine & Ayurveda Dip. General Medicine.	Nep. & Eng.	Eng. (G. Medicine) Nep. (Ayurveda)
5.	Institute of Law, Bhrikuti Mandap, Kath.	1972	Cert. & Dip.	Nep. & Dip.	Nep. Most Eng. Few
6.	Institute of Education, Sanu Thimi.	1972	Cert. Dip. & Dig. Refresher course, Vocational and Upgrading Programme.	Nep. & Eng.	Nep. & Eng.

The tables given above show that: 1. English is never used exclusively as the medium for class lectures anywhere at any levels of courses offered.

2. English is never used exclusively during examinations. Students have option to use Nepali during examinations in the subjects of Law, Commerce, Social Sciences, Education, and even in Forestry, Agriculture and some branches of Engineering.

3. English is used during examinations by students in Science, Medicine (excepting Ayurvedic) and some branches of Engineering.

4. Nepali is mostly used for class lectures in class lectures of subjects like Social Sciences, Education, Law Commerce.

5. Nepali is alternately used for class lectures in class lecture of Science, Medicine, Engineering, Forestry and Agriculture.

6. Nepali is mostly used by students during examinations in all subjects at all levels where an option is allowed.

The following discussion of the multipurpose campus at Nepalgunj illustrates the current situation of language use in outlying campuses.

Mahendra Multipurpose Campus of Nepalgunj is an important Campus in the Far-western-development region. Classes are held for 386 students from 47 districts up

to Diploma level in Humanities and Social Sciences, and up to Certificate level in Science, Commerce and Law. There are separate extension Campuses of the Institutes of Medicine and Education.

This multipurpose Campus of Nepalganj has offered opportunities to students coming from 5 zones, which represent 24 districts, to embark on higher studies in different courses suited to their aptitude and modest means. Such opportunities were non-existent before the introduction of the NESP. Previously, only a few wealthy parents sent their children to universities in India.

Nepalganj is situated in an area dominated by Awadhi speakers (Subba 1977). With the construction of the Surkhet road and Mahendra Rajmarga (connected to the Surkhet road a few kilometres north of the city), Nepalganj has experienced increased social contact with speakers of other languages, and the dominance of Awadhi and Hindi is now eroding. The use of English is limited to text-books and question and answer scripts in science courses. Even science lectures are given in Nepali with a few English sentences added here and there. All courses in Humanities and Social Science, Commerce, Law, Medicine and Education are conducted in Nepali. If this were not done teaching would become meaningless. The English language teacher we interviewed (we were able to meet only one of the two English teachers on the staff) admits that he teaches the English language through the medium of the Nepali language. All answer scripts in Humanities (except English), Commerce, Law, Medicine, and Education are written in Nepali. Questions are set

in English, but in many subjects a Nepali translation of the questions is included. New and enthusiastic teachers say they prefer to use English in class. But older and experienced teachers have other ideas. They claim that the effective delivery of "educational goods" can be done only in Nepali.

Students complain that their text books in English are "too difficult" for them. Even with the help of a dictionary, the texts pose a great handicap to the students' efficient learning. Hindi text books are only in limited use. Nepalganj once had a reputation for being a Hindi-speaking city, yet some 75% of the Nepalganj students come from hill districts where Hindi is as foreign language as English.

In Nepalganj, students are demanding text books in Nepali, though they are in no position to judge the standard of the available Nepali texts. Not a single student we interviewed from the Nepalganj Campus wants an English medium in the hope of getting a scholarship to study abroad. Their needs are more basic.

The policy of Tribhuvan University (T.U.) is to encourage science by offering science by offering science scholarships to top students. The number of students admitted as freshmen is high, but the dropouts increase after the first two semesters. Teachers and students both admit that this is principally due to the English language handicap. Most feel that if the compulsory use of English in examinations were abolished and text books were available in Nepali, science learning would get a fresh impetus.

Medium Problem

It is probably correct to say that language problems have become more acute for students and teachers today than ever before in our educational history. Meetings with students, teachers and the survey of campuses have suggested a uniform pattern underlying these problems.

English is the recognized medium but Nepali is fast becoming the inevitable medium of instruction. This is the current situation which cannot be overlooked. And any superficial solution will eventually produce confusions about our educational quality and goals.

The text books, reference works and journals are in English. Not only students but teachers as well are lacking in basic English language skills. Our grounding in the language is even weaker at lower levels. Most teachers need effective competence in English to use it as the medium of their class lectures. Many lack competence in spoken English. Most of our students do not even have basic skills. It is unrealistic to expect them to study courses in English given this standard.

Nepali is being used in classes by teachers and students alike³ but the greatest handicap for Nepali use is the lack of text-books. Very few text-books have been written in Nepali. Many T.U. teachers feel comfortable using Nepali in classes. Most of the students are happy with the Nepali medium.⁴ But all experience the urgent need for new terminology in Nepali. So, the crux of the matter is this: we have chosen Nepali as the only alternative medium, but we must now tackle questions

like the development and modernisation of Nepali to make it adequate as a medium for higher education. We already have a basis of English with all its strong points, but it cannot function efficiently because we have not prepared students and staff in the necessary English language skills.

There has been some controversy about the place of English/Nepali as the medium of higher education in Nepal. The previous sections have attempted to present a picture of the situation regarding the language medium and the language problems of higher education in the country. The discussion highlighted the need for identifying the respective domains of English and Nepali use in the Nepalese education system. Hopefully this will help to correct the widespread misconception that these languages are rivals. English and Nepali are not in competition, but are complementary in their functions. It is high time that we identified these specific functions.

The Place of English in Nepalese higher Education

English was not brought to Nepal as the language of the conquerors, as it was in most countries of South Asia. English developed in Nepal at a much later date as the language of diplomacy and 'modern knowledge'. Alongside the national language, it now serves as an international language to fulfill important functions in education, international discourse, diplomacy and development (e.g. as a medium for transmission of science and technology, as a link with the foreign press and radio, and in trade, commerce, tourism and aviation).

English is the principal language of science and commerce in the West and serves as a contact language for much of South Asia. Nepal quite naturally adopted it for building up its educational infrastructure. English has given us access to modern knowledge. As V. M. Tarkunde has stated, "Books in English constitute the largest repository of modern knowledge". No language is going to dislodge English from the position it has come to occupy today as the most widely recognised international language of wider communication.

Along with Nepali, English is the second compulsory language in the Nepalese schools. But this position of English as the second language in education does not mean that it is the second language used by all students in Nepal for social communication outside the classroom. Normally, there is little or no opportunity to use English beyond the classroom. This is the main reason why English has become a great handicap for Nepalese students as the medium of higher education and as a compulsory subject.

In order to provide the proper functional role for English in Nepalese education, we must first identify the language needs of students. What is the principal purpose in learning English? Is it for learning or for living? What are our specific concrete needs? The present education structure and aims indicate that English is learned more as a school subject and less for non-school "living". But it should be developed as a tool for modernisation of Nepalese economy and society. It has been commonly felt that English has been introduced into our education into our education system without a realistic determination of the implicit aims of English Instruction.

English use in Nepal is not as pervasive as it is in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Even the elite of Nepal uses English only in specific situations. It is not the link language nor the language of wider communication within the country. It is used for learning, and has therefore taken on the function of a library language. Recently, since our emphasis has been on the development and modernization of the country, it has been used essentially for modernization and technical growth.

Our English language policy can be made more realistic. We should learn English due to the fact that it gives us access to modern knowledge, international contacts and more efficient development policies. Many now recognise that knowledge of English has become an essential prerequisite for better career. Few learn it for pleasure, or for its rich traditions of imaginative literature. It is, therefore, imperative that our educational policy identifies the type and level of English language skills it should provide to our students. Perhaps we need a high level of passive skills such as reading and listening comprehension, along with reasonable active skills in written and spoken expression. This would enable our students to have easy access to knowledge provided by libraries, reference books and journals. And, should they go abroad for further studies, English should not constitute a major handicap.

There was a different situation when we introduced the English medium into our education. Two decades back we suffered from many problems connected with education. We relied on Hindi and English as our media of instruction. The emphasis on the national language was not very strong.

We imported teachers from India. Gradually we have been able to remedy most of these problems. T. U. has trained many Nepalese language teachers. This may not be sufficient for improving the quality of education but it helps build up our self-confidence.

The situation in Nepal for English language learning is not very favourable. Three 'elements' must be present for an individual to learn a language: aptitude, motivation and opportunity (Richard Noss 1977). These three components are only partially present in our society as regards the learning of any foreign language, not just English. Our emphasis on English has been misplaced. We must 'cultivate English as a source of knowledge' (Pattanayak 1974) but not as the medium of education at any level.

Nobody can deny the fact that for a country like Nepal, which began to develop formal 'modern' education only two or three decades back, we must use our native language to disseminate knowledge among the majority of the population. This will provide an opportunity to all students from remote areas and outlying campuses to strengthen their educational backgrounds.

In a developing country like Nepal, it is extremely difficult to provide modern techniques to improve the learning of English. Therefore, it is wise to aim at giving a solid basic competence in the language without relying on costly western techniques of language learning, such as language laboratories and extensive audio-visual aids.

Nepali as the language medium in Nepalese Education

Nepali as the only medium of primary and secondary level and the inevitable medium of instruction at the tertiary level of Nepalese education requires a thoughtful planning for language development. Language development briefly suggests language modernization and language planning. This refers to conscious or organized efforts to solve language problems which, according to Haugen (1966), can be norm selection (select or modify old norm or create new standard), codification (choice of script, orthography, pronunciation, grammatical forms, lexical items), elaboration of functions (i.e., innovation or adaptation of vocabulary into the realms of scientific, imaginative and emotive experience). Ferguson (1971) mentions 'language development refers to a code graphization (reduction to writing of the speech of a community) and standardization - the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects, and, for want of a better term, modernization- the development of inter-salability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialised, secularised, structurally differentiated modern societies.' Fishman (1965) mentions that processes of language development are not single events but involve repeated elaboration and codification.

The demanding functions of Nepali today reveal that we should give our attention to the areas of standardization and modernization of the language if it is to function efficiently in the domain of education.

In order to function efficiently Nepali needs appropriate codification (reforms in its orthography,

grammar and pronunciation) and modernization by expansion of the language with new words and expressions and by the development of new styles and forms of discourse. Lexical expansion is urgent in order to treat new topics.

The fact that Nepali is the language of text books and the medium of instruction does not mean that solid Nepali language skills are transmitted to our students during their high school stage. The language and cultural backgrounds of our students and the language and content of text books and language teaching skills of teachers seem to be incompatible with existing situations.

The relevance of functional Nepali for the development of NSP (Nepali for Specific Purposes) course was discussed for the first time in the T.U. Nepali Language Seminar in a paper by Dahal (1977). Basic skills of Nepali should be built up at school stage and at higher education Nepali language curriculum should concentrate on functional Nepali to build up subjectwise language skills, registers and expressions.

Conclusion

In light of the present situation, some compromise must be made to decide language priorities in our education policy.

The medium question is not a simple one. It actively involves students, teachers and administrators, raises questions of communication skills, books, curricula and educational quality. Nepali and English are both indispensable to Nepalese higher education.

The experiences of small, developed nations like Israel, Denmark, Holland, W. Germany and Japan and also small developing nations like Indonesia, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malayasia, and the Philippines, show us that national and international languages need unemotional and unpolitical treatment. However, situations vary from country to country. Our situation demands a rational and functional approach to language use in our education. We must provide intensive NSP and ESP courses to our students in order to give them language proficiency and confidence.

Nepali, as the language of education and the vehicle of communication, is confronted with problems and challenges. As the medium of instruction and text books, it requires extensive vocabulary expansion and structural modification for expression of new thoughts. We hope that the Curriculum Development Centre, T.U., realizes its responsibility in this direction. It might in fact be the only recognized agency in T. U. which could make sound language planning regarding the development of Nepali to be the alternate language in our higher education.

Notes

1. "Remote areas" here suggest places which are distant from the Tribhuvan University which is located in Kathmandu, and hence should not be confused with the HMG's classification of remote areas.
2. Tri-Chandra College was opened in 1918, while Amrit Science College, previously known as the Public Science College, was in 2013 (1956).
3. During our talks majority of teachers and students complained about the design of courses and selection of text books. They claimed text books and courses were unrelated to their existing situations, backgrounds.
4. Nepali is used for some lectures in geography, history, culture, political science, and education in degree courses at the Kirtipur Multiple Campus. Students can use Nepali during degree examinations in these areas if they so desire.

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Perceptions About the Geography of Religious Sites in the Kathmandu Valley

Robert H. Stoddard*

What are some of the spatial characteristics of sacred sites? This question can be answered by considering the nature of geography, the perceptual aspects of sacred space, and the geographic characteristics of certain cosmologies. These comments are followed by some rather specific information about the spatial arrangements of selected sacred sites in the Kathmandu Valley and about perceptions of those sites.

Nature of Geography

The question about perceptions of religious sites is answered here from the particular perspective of geography, which is the discipline that deals with phenomena on the earth in terms of their locations. Geography is concerned especially with queries about why certain phenomena are located where they are and with the implications of those locations on human behaviour. To understand the distinctive viewpoint of geography, it might be helpful to consider briefly a geographical problem that is unrelated to this specific study.

The location of wheat production, for instance, may be understood in terms of (1) physical features (i.e., site characteristics such as climate, terrain, and soils),

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(2) economic conditions (e.g., accessibility to market, production costs, and demands), and (3) the cultural environment within which persons decide to produce wheat. Specialization within the discipline of geography tends to concentrate research within one of these broad divisions; thus some geographers explore the locational interrelationships among physical phenomena, others the spatial dimensions of economic activity, and still others the geographic impact of cultural conditions. A cultural geographer might consider how the natural environment is thought of, or perceived, by farmers rather than the measurable site characteristics. Or, a cultural geographer might examine how economic conditions are actually evaluated by wheat producers rather than assuming that so-called "Economic Man" is making rational decisions based on perfect knowledge. Thus the cultural geographer assists in the task of explaining and predicting the location of wheat production by clarifying ways farmers mentally view their physical and economic environments. Because agricultural decisions about producing wheat are based on the manner in which farmers view the world, the mental geographies they possess are critical to a full understanding of where wheat is produced.

To repeat, the distinctive aspect of geography is the concern with relationships that are spatial -- and not with a particular phenomenon itself. This brief illustration dealt with producing wheat, but the topic could just as well have involved soil types, landslides, linguistic regions, marriage patterns, or access to higher education. Furthermore, the geographic perspective is not limited to contemporary situations -- it may deal with past conditions or with predictions for future spatial arrangements. Geographers may also study visible

features on the landscape such as paddy fields or non-visible phenomena such as languages. In fact, one of the subfields of geography that has received considerable attention in recent decades is one that concerns an intangible phenomenon, specifically, the phenomenon of human perceptions of places.

This emphasis on perceptions might be clarified with two examples. One example involves what is sometimes called "mental maps", which are the ideas people have in their minds about the locations of specific places. For instance, a person might mentally think of (or, visualize) a map showing Kathmandu farther north than Delhi; but, in fact, the reverse is true so an accurate map shows Delhi farther north than Kathmandu. Nevertheless, when scholars attempt to understand this person's activities, they should realize that the belief (even if mistaken) about the two cities' relative locations may affect behaviour of that persons.

The ideas a shopkeeper has about the locations of prospective customers and their shopping behaviour is a second example. Suppose the shopkeeper buys some land at a particular site, then he builds a shop and stocks it with supplies. His investment is made on the basis on what he believes to be the place where people will go for buying things; however, it may not necessarily be where shoppers actually will go. Thus, for geographers to understand his decision about where to locate his shop, they must know something about the shopkeeper's perceptions of human behaviour -- rather than just about the actual patterns of shopping trips.

In summary, geographers are interested in locational

or spatial aspects of phenomena. The phenomena may be any kind, both natural and manmade, tangible and intangible. Furthermore, geographic study concerns not just where phenomena are located but also why they are located at those places. Since the understanding of locations involves relationships among phenomena, geographic knowledge provides insight into the effects of locations on human activities. This insight often depends on noting both the observable facts about locations and the intangible perceptions people have about those locations.

Perceptions of Sacred Space

The geography of sacred space, by its very nature, involves human perceptions. Because phenomena are imbued with sanctity by human beliefs, the study of sacred places necessarily includes consideration of mental images about such places. However, in contrast to some other kinds of perceptual studies (e.g., perceptions of environmental hazards and individuals' mental maps), research into perceptions of sacred places has been limited. This paper expands on that topic by studying perceptions about religious sites within the specific context of the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal.

Information available about the geography of religious sites can be summarized by classifying various types of sacred places. One type consists of places that become sanctified after secular decisions are made about locations. Christian and Muslim cemeteries may be set aside for burial grounds originally in much the same way as other land areas are established. It is only after the areas have been used for burials that the space becomes sacred territory.

A second type includes places that become holy following a specific event which believers regard as manifesting the divine. The birth places of religious leaders and the sites of major religious events typify this class of sacred places.

A third type of sacred sites includes those locations that are assigned sanctity because of certain kinds to topographic features. Mountain tops, the confluences of streams, and hot springs are examples of features that are regarded as holy by many different religious groups.

A fourth type of location that may be sacred originates with cosmological concepts. That is, holy places of this type are not the result of unique events nor are they evidenced by distinct earth features. They occur because the arrangement of sanctified space corresponds to a perceived spatial organization -- or cosmology -- of the universe. It is this type that is examined in this particular study.

Geographic Characteristics of Some Cosmologies

Several scholars have discussed the modeling of settlements according to a plan that duplicates a divine cosmology. An important publication that deals with this topic is the one by Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, in which he discussed how various peoples in many parts of the world through the ages have organized their settlements according to a plan that imitates a divine cosmology.¹ Persons settling in a region established a temple or sacred structure at the center of their land, a position representing the center of the

world, and then delineated the edge of their lands from the chaotic areas of the profane world.

This same general theme has been examined somewhat by at least two American geographers. Paul Wheatley in The Pivot of the Four Quarters stated:

Before territory could be inhabited, it had to be cosmized. Its consecration signified its "reality" and, therefore, sanctioned its habitation; but its establishment as an imitation of a celestial archetype required its delineation and orientation as a sacred territory within the continuum of profane space.²

Also, Yi-Fu Tuan wrote:

Cosmologies have more than aesthetic or intellectual interest. They are not simply fantasies of the mind floating about the hard realities of day-to-day living. They derive from lived experiences and at the same time give them meaning and direction. Among agricultural societies, in particular, cosmologies exist that are closely integrated with the calendars of work, with seasonal festivals and rituals. Cosmologies also find visible expression in sacred architecture....³

Likewise, publications on town planning and architecture have reported on these same concepts about arranging buildings in South Asia.⁴

The major inspiration for this study, though, was the work of Niels Gutschow, which is summarized partly by the following statements:

One of the models Hinduism employs for the sanctification of space is configurations of shrines or temples dedicated to a particular, systematic group of gods or goddesses. Such shrines cannot be fully understood unless interpreted with reference to the entire system of which they form a part.

Systems of this type very often are eightfold. In such cases shrines are located in the four cardinal and the four intermediate points of the compass. Probably such patterns are to be understood as extensions of the old dikpala idea: the Eight Regions or Quarters are guarded each by a particular god. No doubt the new gods were also installed to protect the Quarters and thus assumed the function of the old Guardians; yet it is fairly certain that their function was not exhausted with this.

Such systems had to be imposed onto a town that existed already. Hence, the sites of temples or piths are of course conditioned to factors of topography: we do not find the ideal, symmetrical pattern of a well-executed yantra or mandala. The variations that actual locations will show do not, however, justify doubt in the principles underlying the spatial arrangement.⁵

Matrikas are one of the most essential, and indeed most frequent, devices for the sanctification of Nepalese towns. Preferably they are arranged so as to surround settlements ... Hence... the eight Matrikas are used to define space.

The pithapuja consists of 24 shrines of Matrikas being visited. The 24 shrines are arranged in three sets of eight Matrikas each. The first of these circles, by and large surrounds the city of Kathmandu, the second the entire valley, and the third at times transcends the boundaries of the valley proper to include places traditionally under the spiritual -- and at most time also secular -- domination of Newar kings.⁶

It is apparent from Gutschow, Eliade, and others that the geographic distribution of certain sacred sites results from concepts about a divine plan for the arrangement of sacred space. Interest focuses, therefore, on the ways residents of such religiously delimited areas perceive the spatial relationships among sets of holy places.

The Spatial Arrangement of Selected Sacred
Sites in the Kathmandu Valley

An arrangement of sites that resembles the geometric configuration of a mandala or yantra does occur repeatedly in the Kathmandu Valley. In the ideal form, sets of sacred places are situated around a central position in the same pattern as geometric figures surround the center of a mandala. The configuration of sacred space analogizes the arrangement of a cosmological model because, like the mandala, it consists of an inner cosmmcized area surrounded by a line or zone of divine protectors who guard against external dangers. This cosmological mandala is attached geographically to a specific area by being oriented with the earth's directional grid. Consequently, settlement areas may be delimited by eight sites, which are positioned at the four cardinal and the four intermediate directions, with each site occupied by a protecting deity.

This model of sacred places occurs at various scales within the Valley. At the scale of a single residence, it governs the construction and architecture of most Newar houses⁷. At the scale of a town, it is manifested in the locations of the Ashta Matrikas that surround each of the major cities of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur.⁸

At the scale of the entire Kathmandu Valley, the cosmological pattern seems to apply to the geography of sacred sites also; but the correspondence between the conceptual model and sacred places is less apparent than for towns and individual homes. Furthermore, very little has been written about sacred places that constitute sets for the entire Valley. Thus, the research goal for this

study was to learn about such sacred sites by answering the following three questions:

(1) Are there sets of sacred sites that apply to the Valley; that is, are there several places that constitute parts of an over-all unit of sacred space? If "yes", then:

(2) Are the sacred sites located in a geometric pattern; that is, does each place in a set have spatial significance in terms of an over-all religious design? If "yes", then:

(3) Do most persons living in the Valley perceive specific sacred places as parts of a set which has meaning for the Valley as a whole?

To answer the first two questions, the author consulted several experts and relevant publications. The experts were local persons who have studied the ancient religious texts and have specialized in understanding Hindu-Buddhist Tantricism; the publications were ones readily available in Kathmandu and written in English.

According to these sources, the answer to the first question seems clearly to be that, indeed, several religious sites do exist as sets. The experts and various publications generally agreed with what was recently summarized in the monumental inventory of cultural features in the Valley (i.e., the Protective Inventory).⁹ The Protective Inventory lists several religious sets such as the Char Ganesh, Char Narayan, Char Yogini, Ashta Matrika, Ashta Bhairab, Ashta Nag, and so forth. The study that is reported here deals with only three sets, namely, the Char Ganesh, the Char Narayan, and the Ashta

Matrikas.

The answer to the second question about whether the sets of sites form a meaningful pattern is not a clear-cut "yes". The lack of an unequivocal affirmation is partly because there is not complete agreement about which Ganesh and Narayan shrines are members of the set of four. The Ganesh shrines and their locations according to one page in the Protective Inventory are Surya Vinayak south of Bhaktapur, Jal Vinayak at the Chobar gorge, Rakta or Chandra Vinayak in Chabahil, and Karya Vinayak close to Bungamati (Figure 1).¹⁰ However, elsewhere in the same publication, Ashok Vinayak in Maru Tole of Kathmandu replaces Karya Vinayak.¹¹ And, in one of Gutschow's publications he listed a Ganesh shrine in Sankhu instead of Rakta Vinayak.¹² Likewise, the four Narayans are usually, but not always, given as Changu Narayan southwest of Sankhu, Ichangu Narayan near Holchok, Sekh Narayan near Pharping, and Bisankhu Narayan midway between Iubhu and Godavari. As exceptions, one publication states that Buddha Milkantha is even more important than these other four Vishnu temples;¹³ and Gustchow and Auer included a sixth one at Macchegaon.¹⁴

With this diversity in enumerating which places actually constitute the set, it becomes a little difficult to discern whether either set forms a regular pattern which conforms to a Valley-size mandala. Generally the sources that commented on the geography of religious sites did agree with the Gutschow thesis: that sets of sites are theoretically positioned in the Valley in the four cardinal directions. Nevertheless, they recognized that topographic and settlement features have modified a perfect north-south and east-west orientation, and these

locational modifications from the ideal make it difficult to determine visually which of the conflicting sites are most likely members of the set. There was greater unanimity about the four Narayan temples; and when Buddha Nilkantha and Macchegaon are omitted, the remaining four do display spatial regularity within the Valley. Detecting regularity in the location of the Ganesh shrines is more difficult, partly because the experts differed about whether Ashok, Rakta, or Karya Vinayak belongs to the set of four. Depending on which four are included, either Ashok Vinayak or Rakta Vinayak represents the northern position, and Jal Vinayak is either the western or southern temple. Thus, except for agreement that Surya Vinayak is the eastern member, uncertainty remains about a regular and purposeful orientation of the Ganesh shrines.

When the question about whether a set of eight sites form a meaningful pattern is applied to the Ashta Matrkas, the answer seems to be mostly negative. This conclusion results primarily because of very limited knowledge about any set that pertains to the Valley as a whole. Only one of the published references referred to such a Valley as a whole. Only one of the published references referred to such a Valley set;¹⁵ and several of the interviewed experts stated that no set of sacred sites exists for the entire Valley. Thus, even though it is well known that Ashta Matrikas surround each of the three major cities, knowledge about a set that protects the entire Kathmandu Valley is very rare.

The answer to the second question about the spatial regularity of sacred sites in the Valley, therefore, seems to be a conditional "yes". There is general agreement about the specific members of the Narayan set, and their locations within the Valley do appear to form a regular

locations within the Valley do appear to form a regular pattern. There is less agreement about which four of five major Ganesh shrines constitute the true set, and none of the potential sets forms a pattern which appears obviously regular to an outsider. Although the eight Matrika sites may form a well-oriented pattern (as shown by the small map published by Gutschow and Bajracharya), this information is apparently very esoteric.¹⁶

Perceptions of Sacred Sites

The third research question deals with how inhabitants perceive the geography of sacred sites in the Valley. Information about perceptions was acquired by asking selected villagers and townspeople about the major Ganesh and Narayan shrines and about sites of the Ashta Matrikas. The author and his assistant went to more than a dozen villages scattered throughout the Valley and to the three main cities during a month's period to interview 121 lay persons.¹⁷ Respondents were asked to name the four main Ganesh and Narayan sites, to describe the locations of those sites, and to show their locations on a large-scale map. Then they were asked why the sites are located as they are. Also, persons were asked about the existence of Matrikas, piths, and Dikpalas for the Valley and for their own locality.

The characteristics of the selected respondents are given in Table 1. A heterogeneous sample of persons was contacted with the respondents representing a variety of ages and schooling levels (and occupations). The number of times a particular site was named by respondents is listed in Table 2. It appears that respondents (like the experts) were uncertain about which of five Ganesh shrines

constitute the set of four that belong together. This uncertainty is evidenced in Table 2 by the gradual decrease from 93 to 49 in the frequency that the top five places were named; that is, the difference between the **fourth** and fifth ($63 - 49 = 14$) is no larger than between the second and third most frequently named places ($86 - 72 = 14$). Respondents were more certain which four Narayan sites form a distinct set, **though**, because the difference between the fourth and fifth most frequently named places ($83 - 27 = 56$) is much larger than between any of the first four places listed in Table 2.

Since even the experts are uncertain about the existence of Ashta Matrikas for the Valley, it came as no surprise that respondents also said they did not know about such. In a few villages, persons identified a particular place which did, in fact, correspond with one of the Valley Matrikas listed by Gutschow and Bajracharya; but the respondents invariably considered the pith as primarily a place of importance for the immediate locality and not as one member of a set for the entire Valley. On the basis of the answers provided, one can only conclude that there is no common perception among the residents of the Kathmandu Valley about the existence of a set of Matrikas protecting the entire Valley.

Table 3 summarizes the replies to the interview question concerned with reasons for the locations of sacred sites. Only two persons pointed out the fact that the sites were located in the four directions; two others regarded the shrines as protectors for the Valley; and three interviewees specified that the four shrines were situated to serve the entire Valley. Four persons declared that the position of Surya Vinayak in the east

was significant, but they did not mention the other three as having similar locational importance. Evidently most respondents did not consciously consider the cosmological model as an explanation for the spatial distribution of sacred sites.

These data may be in error or misleading, though, for various reasons, three of which are the following.

(1) Respondents were not selected by a statistically random procedure. That is, no prescribed method for using a sampling frame was employed, and thus the respondents cannot be regarded as an unbiased subset from the general Valley population. It is the opinion of the author that persons having more information about places other than their immediate vicinity were over-represented. For example, a higher percentage of school teachers were interviewed than their proportion of the total population, thus producing a sample of persons who undoubtedly leave their home village more frequently than do farmers. It is probably safe to assume that those persons not chosen for interviewing were even less aware of religious places outside their immediate locality. Therefore, this possible source of error would not jeopardize a negative conclusion about perceptions of patterns in the locations of Valley sites.

(2) Respondents may not have given correct information. Incorrect information can occur when interviewees choose deliberately to mislead an interviewer; certainly this is a universal weakness with any technique that depends on the cooperation of others. However, the percentage of persons who were willing to answer questions compares very favourably with other parts of the world, for instance with rural United States; this

willingness to answer indicates a positive attitude about giving valid answers.

Respondents may have given incorrect information unintentionally because of inability to remember names or places or use the map. Some persons knew where a Ganesh or Narayan temple was located but could not remember the name. Others knew a name but forgot the location. And, of course, asking persons to use the map had varying success. Those who had no idea about the relationship between the symbols on the cloth map lying before them and places they knew were excused from completing that portion of the interview. Although not checked statistically, responses seemed to reveal no correlation between the amount of schooling of the respondent and ability to use the map.

(3) Faulty communication may have distorted the recorded information. Under the best of conditions it is possible that an interviewer and interviewee misunderstand what the other person is trying to say. The possibility of such misunderstanding is increased if the information must be communicated through a third person, especially when the conversation must be translated into another language. Fortunately many of the questions and answers were fairly factual, so these data were probably communicated satisfactorily; but the attempt to learn about respondents' perceptions of regularity in religious sites undoubtedly was less successful.

Any one, or a combination, of these three conditions may have caused errors in the data. However, if the assumption is made that whatever errors did occur are not systematically large and of a single type, then the

results can be viewed as a satisfactory answer to the question about inhabitants' perceptions of sacred places.

Conclusions

The third question in the study was this: Do most persons living in the Valley perceive specific sacred places as parts of a set which has meaning for the Valley as a whole? The answer seems to be mostly negative.

In the case of the Matrikas, this conclusion may result from at least two characteristics of Tantricism. One characteristic is its secretive nature, which deliberately limits a wide diffusion of knowledge about beliefs and practices. Another characteristic is the manner in which knowledge is passed from guru to disciple rather than through well-publicized doctrines, which means that certain sites may have meaning for one group of believers but not the same significance for followers of another teacher. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the arrangement of any religious sites which may be associated with the eight Matrikas is not commonly perceived as representing a Valley-wide yantra or similar representation of a cosmic design.

For the Ganesh and Narayan sites, the conclusion is partly "yes" but mostly "no". On the positive side, most respondents did consider four specific shrines as belonging to a set (i.e., one set for Ganesh and one for Narayan), and each set was identified as distinct from other shrines in the Valley dedicated to Ganesh and Narayan. Further evidence that the four shrines are regarded as members of a unique set was acquired when several respondents reported they had taken a one-day

pilgrimage to the four shrines. (These pilgrimages involve walking the 35 to 45 kilometers in a prescribed sequence to worship at each of the four, but only these four, shrines.)

On the negative side is the fact that, although respondents may view the various shrines as belonging together in one of the two sets, very few respondents gave any reason for the locations of the shrines. In contrast to the experts, who usually related the positions of the shrines to the cardinal directions in the Valley, the lay persons seldom mentioned any over-all pattern. Many respondents did answer queries about local shrines around their own village or town in terms of protective positions, but they rarely applied this same kind of locational model to the sets of Valley shrines. Consequently, it seems safe to conclude that, although inhabitants regard spatial regularity as very important in the sacred space of their local vicinity, they do not necessarily perceive a similar geography of sacred sites at the scale of the entire Kathmandu Valley.

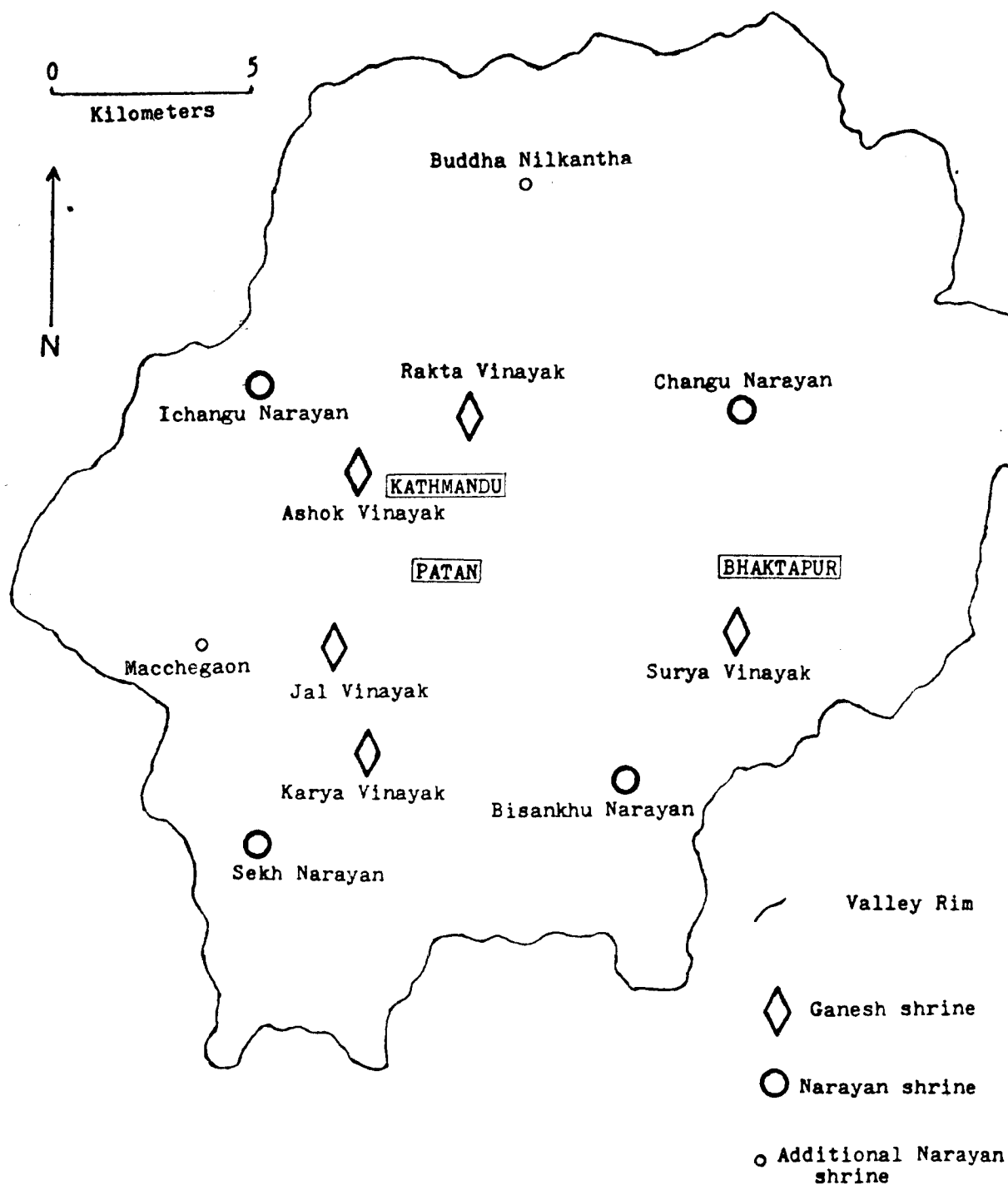


Figure 1. SHRINES IN THE KATHMANDU VALLEY

Table 1. Characteristics of Respondents

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>
Male	85	Less than 30 years	16
Female	36	31 - 60 years	82
		Over 60 years	23
	<u>121</u>		<u>121</u>

<u>Schooling</u>	<u>Number</u>
Illiterate	36
Read & write	35
Grades 4 - 9	15
10th Class & more	26
No data	9
	<u>121</u>

Table 2. Shrines Named and Mapped by Respondents

Ganesh Shrines

<u>Place</u>	<u>Frequency Named</u>	<u>Frequency Mapped</u>
Surya Vinayak	93	74
Ashok Vinayak	86	73
Jai Vinayak	72	57
Rakta Vinayak	63	52
Karya Vinayak	49	39
Misc. others	28	8
No response	4	-

contd....

Narayan Shrines

<u>Place</u>	<u>Frequency Named</u>	<u>Frequency Mapped</u>
Changu	97	77
Ichangu	85	61
Sekh	83	64
Bisankhu	83	57
Budhanilkantha	27	15
Macchegaon	7	3
Misc. others	16	3
No response	5	-

Table 3. Reasons Given for the Locations of Shrines

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Protectors of the Valley	2
Placed in four directions	2
Spread throughout the Valley	3
Surya in the east	4
Specific story for one place	13
No reason known	106
No response	12
(Classes are not necessarily mutually exclusive)	

Notes

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11. Ibid., p. 51.
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13. K. R. Pandey and Carl Prusha, eds., The Physical Development Plan for the Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu: His Majesty's Government of Nepal, 1969), p. 50.
14. Auer and Gutschow, op. cit., p. 16.
15. Gutschow and Bajracharya, op. cit. (which is essentially repeated in the 1977 issue of Ekistics, op. cit.).
16. Ibid., p. 3 (and p. 311).
17. Gambhir Bahadur Hada from the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, was the research assistant for this project.

Dative Subject Constructions in Hindi, Nepali
and Marathi and Relational Grammar

Sagar Mal Gupta*

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Masica (1976: 164) states:

"It may well be that this (Dative Subject Construction) is a criterion that sets off the "Indian area" more sharply than any other here examined. As already noted, a high development of this feature is characteristic of Indian-- perhaps slightly more of Dravidian and slightly less of Bengali (and much less of the Munda languages), but nevertheless present in all the major languages to a degree that seems to be unparalleled elsewhere."

Dative Subject Constructions (DSC) being an areal trait, there have been several attempts in the past to characterize them. Kachru (1970), Kachru et al (1975), Sridhar (1976), Verma (1975), McAlpin (1975), Krishnamurthi (1975) have tried to present a systematic analysis of DSC in Hindi, Kannada, Nepali, Malyalam and Telgu respectively. In the present study, we make an attempt to present a systematic description of DSC in Hindi, Nepali and Marathi.

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The questions we address ourselves to are:

- a. What class of predicates occur with DSC? Are there any predicates that obligatorily take DSC?
- b. What are the semantic and pragmatic characteristics of DSC?
- c. What are the behavioral properties of DSC?

. In the last section, an attempt will be made to characterize DSC in terms of Relational Grammar.

Hindi, Nepali and Marathi belong to Indo-Aryan family. Marathi belongs to the outer group whereas Hindi and Nepali belong to the inner group. One of the investigators is a Hindi Speaker whereas the other one is a Nepali speaker. The Marathi data are due to the courtesy of Dr. Kashi Wali and Dr. Vijya Chitnis.

1.0. In this section, we describe the verbs that generally occur in DSC. These verbs include experiences denoting liking, disliking, states of health or sickness, happiness and unhappiness, dreaming, feeling, remembering, thinking, embarrassment, pity, doubt, pain, thirst, hunger, sleepiness, anger, urgency etc. We divide these verbs into four categories:

- (i) Verbs of sense-perception
- (ii) Verbs of mental and emotional experiences
- (iii) Verbs denoting health conditions, and
- (iv) Verbs obligatorily taking DSC.

1.1 VERBS OF SENSE-PERCEPTION:

Verbs of sense-perception include verbs such as dikha:i. paRna: 'to be seen' or sunai:i. paRna: 'to be

heard' etc. The subject of these verbs is an experiencer of the action of seeing or hearing though he is not the initiator of the action. Consider the following:

H (1) usko sher dikha:i: paRa:
he+DAT lion seen fell
'He saw the lion.'

H (2) usko shor suna:i: paRa:
he+DAT noise heard fell
'He heard the noise.'

M (3) mala: jha:R dislā
me+DAT tree seen-NEUTER
'I saw the tree.'

M (4) mala: ā:wa:j a:iku a:la:
me+DAT noise heard past
'I heard the noise.'

In Nepali, DSC with verbs of sense-perception are marginal. These verbs more readily occur in Nominative Constructions, for example:

N (5) mai-le ba:gh la:i dekhē
I+ERG tiger DAT/ACC saw-past
'I saw the tiger.'

However, a word of caution will be in order. The Nepali investigator feels that this statement about Nepali verbs of sense-perception needs further investigation. Note that the verb in (3) in Marathi has a neuter agreement marker.

1.2 VERBS OF MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES

Dative subjects occur with nominals showing

emotional experiences such as fear, shame, shyness, liking, disliking, anger, laughter, crying, happiness, sorrow, regret etc. plus a verb. The verbs of cognition that generally occur with Ds are: ma:lu:m hona: 'to be known', accha: lagna: 'to feel good', pata: hona: 'to be known', bura: lagna: 'to feel bad', ya:d a:na: 'to remember', etc. The verbs that generally follow the nominals showing emotional and mental experiences are: lagna: 'to seem', a:na: 'to come', hona: 'to happen', rahna: 'to live', etc. Consider the following sentences:

H (6) ra:m ko Dar laga:
Ram DAT fear felt
'Ram felt the fear.'

H (7) si:ta: ko gussa: a:ya:
Sita DAT anger came
'Sita became angry.'

N (8) ra:m la:i: ri:s uThyo
Ram DAT anger rose
'Ram became angry.'

N (9) si:ta: la:i: la:j la:gyo
Sita DAT shyness attached
'Sita felt shy.'

M (10) mala: la:j wa:tli:
I+DAT shyness felt
'I felt shy.'

M (11) mala: ra:g a:la:
I+DAT anger came
'I became angry.'

The agreement in Hindi and Marathi is between the nominative and the verb whereas in Nepali the verb always carries neuter agreement marker.

Notice a few co-occurrence restrictions between the kind of verb and the nominative preceding it. In Hindi, for example, lagna: 'to feel' is used with Dar 'fear', bhu:kh 'hunger', pya:s 'thirst', accha: 'good', bura: 'bad', whereas hona: 'to happen' is used among others with khushi: 'happiness', dukh 'sorrow', pashca:ta:p 'regret'; a:na: 'to come' occurs with gussa: 'anger', sharm 'shyness', hāsi: 'laughter' and rula:i 'crying'. In Nepali, however, with anger and laughter, we use uThna: 'to rise'; with fear, sorrow, regret, surprise, happiness etc., we use la:gnu 'to feel'.

1.3 VERBS DENOTING HEALTH CONDITIONS

Under this category we discuss two kinds of verbs:

- (i) verbs denoting reflex actions such as chī:kna: 'to sneeze', khā:si: a:na: 'to cough', and
- (ii) verbs denoting physical conditions such as bukha:r a:na: 'to suffer from fever', sardi: hona: 'to suffer from cold', sardi:/garmi: lagna: 'to feel cold/hot', bhukh lagna: 'to feel hungry', pya:s lagna: 'to feel thirsty'.

It would be worthwhile to make a distinction between transient states and rather permanent ones. So usko khā:si: a:i: means 'he coughed once', whereas usko khā:si: hai means 'he is suffering from cough'.

Consider:

- | | | | | |
|---|------|---------------|--------|------|
| H | (12) | usko | chī:k | a:i: |
| | | he+DAT | sneeze | came |
| | | 'He sneezed.' | | |

N (13) mala:i: ba:nta: a:yo
me+DAT vomit came
'I vomitted.'

M (14) tya:la: khokla: a:la:
him+DAT cough came
'He coughed!'

The transient/permanent meaning distinction is coded in the verbs a:na: 'to come' and hona: 'to happen' respectively, which can be characterized as stative and inchoative verbs; but the verbs denoting reflex action such as chĩ:k a:na: 'to sneeze' cannot occur with hona: 'to happen' because 'to sneeze' refers to a temporary state.

1.4 VERBS OBLIGATORILY TAKING DATIVE SUBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

Consider the following:

H (15) ra:m ko coT lagi:
Ram DAT hurt attached
'Ram got hurt.'

N (16) ra:me ia:i: coT la:gyo
Ram DAT hurt attached
'Ram got hurt.'

N (17) tya:la: Thetsa la:gli:
him+DAT hurt attached
'He got hurt.'

Above is given a verb that obligatorily takes DS. The verb lagna: 'to feel', can also occur with concrete objects such as ti:r lagna: 'to be hurt with an arrow', goli: lagna: 'to be hurt with a bullet'. lagna: can also take a sentential complement such as mujhe lagta: hai ki a:i ba:rish hogi: 'it seems to me that it will rain today. Other verbs that can take sentential complements are: ma:lu:m hona: 'to be known', pata: hona: 'to be known', ya:d hona: 'to remember', a:sha: hona: 'to be hopeful' wishwa:sh hona: 'to believe'; verbs of saying such as khabar hona: 'to be informed', etc. All these constructions with the verb lagna: can also occur in Nepali and Marathi.

1.4.1. The other verb that obligatorily takes DS is milna: 'to be obtained' e.g.:

H (18) ra:m ko patra mila:
 Ram DAT letter received
 'Ram received the letter.'

H (19)*ra:m patra mila:
 'Ram received the letter.'

H (20) ra:m ko shya:m mila:
 Ram DAT Shyam met
 'Ram ran into Shyam.'

H (21) ra:m shya:m se mila:
 Ram Shyam with met
 'Ram met with Shyam.'

Sentence (19) is ungrammatical because milna: takes DS. (21) is not a counterexample because it illustrates a volitional act of meeting on the part of Ram. Sentence (20) shows that the meeting was accidental. Notice, however, that in Nepali there are two ways to express the verb milna: i.e. pa:unu 'to get' and milnu 'to be obtained' with the restriction that pa:unu can be used only in nominative subject constructions such as:

I+NOM letter received
'I received the letter.'

The Nepali verb milnu can be used with DSC:

N (23) usla:i ma ba:Te dherai paisa: milyo
him+DAT me from lots of money got
'He obtained lots of money from me.'

1.4.2. The interaction between modality and dative subject is very interesting in Hindi and Marathi. As far as we know, the modal meaning of necessity, obligation, requirement, etc. are expressed in these two languages with DS+INFINITIVE+COPULA/ca:hiye/paR+COPULA in neuter forms. INFINITIVE+ COPULA/paR+COPULA generally expresses necessity whereas INFINITIVE+ca:hiye expresses obligation, advice, requirements, etc.

In Nepali, however, these expressions expressing modality can occur in both nominative and dative subject constructions. To illustrate:

N (24) mala:i: ghar cã:Rai ja:nu paryo
me+DAT home quickly to go had to
'I had to go home quickly.'

N (25) maile ghar cã:Rai ja:nu paryo
 I+NOM home quickly to go had to
 'I had to go home quickly.'

It is not clear to the investigators whether these dative-nominative constructions in Nepali are in free variation or restricted by semantic and or pragmatic conditions.

1.4.3. Further, DSC are also used with the verb a:na: 'to come' to show ability:

H (26) usko paRhna: a:ta: hai
 him+DAT to read come is
 'He can/is able to read.'

However, there is an alternative way of expressing the same meaning with the verb sakna: 'be able to' in all these three languages. Compare:

H (27) wah paRh sakta: hai
 he read can is
 'He can read.'

1.4.4. The verbs that occur obligatorily in DSC are: jacna: 'to appeal', suha:na: 'to appeal' and rucna: 'to appeal'.

2.0. In this section, we investigate some of the semantic and pragmatic properties of DSC. Dative subjects are typically experiencers or recipients of the action or state denoted by the verbs discussed in part 1. As we discussed in 1.4. the modal expressions obligatorily take dative subjects. Some other verbs denoting emotional states (such as gussa: a:na: 'to become angry')

and sense-perception (such as dikha:i: paRna: 'to be seen') can occur in both dative and nominative subject constructions. For example:

H (28) ra:m ko gussa: a:ya:
 Ram DAT anger came
 'Ram became angry.'

H (29) ra:m ne gussa: kiya:
 Ram NOM anger did
 'Ram became angry.'

The main difference between DSC and Nominative Subject Constructions is that the dative subject is the experiencer or recipient of the action or state denoted by the verb as in sentence (28) i.e. Ram is the experiencer of the emotional state of anger, whereas the corresponding nominative subject is the volitional agent of the action or state denoted by the verb as in (29) i.e. Ram deliberately does the anger. In this regard a word of caution is in order. Notice that not all verbs with nominative subjects in these languages express volitional agents. To give an example from Hindi:

H (30) mujhko bhu:kh lagi:
 me+DAT hunger felt
 'I became hungry.'

H (31) mai bhu:kha: hu:
 I hungry am
 'I am hungry.'

(30) expresses the inchoative meaning whereas (31) is stative. No volition is involved in the nominative

construction as exemplified in sentence (31). Apart from the stative (31), inchoative (30) distinction, the use of one over the other is determined by the pragmatic conditions. It seems that sentences (30) and (31) both can be used in a situation where a person is asking another person to prepare or serve some food, but only (30) can be used in a situation where the host asks the guest to have some more food. The typical reply of the guest if he is already full would be:

- H (32) nahĩ:, nahĩ: maĩ aur nahĩ: lū:ga:
 no no I more not take+will
 (i) mujhko bhu:kh nahi: hai
 me+DAT hunger not is
 (ii)*maĩ bhu:kha: nahĩ: hū:
 I hungry not am
 'No, no, I won't take any more, I am not
 hungry.'

This generalization does not apply to Nepali because Nepali does not have a corresponding sentence to mujhko bhu:kh nahĩ: hai.

2.2. One way to determine whether a particular nominative subject construction has volitional agent or not would be to use it with certain volitional adverbs such as ja:n bu:jh kar 'knowingly' and/or volitional verbs such as koshi:sh karna: 'to make an attempt.' Consider:

- H (33) māine ja:nbu:jhkar gussa: kiya:
 I+NOM knowingly anger did
 'I got angry knowingly.'
- H (34)*mujhko ja:nbu:khar gussa: a:ya:
 me+DAT knowingly anger came
 'I became angry knowingly.'

H (35) maine khush hone ki: koshish ki:
I+NOM happy to happen GEN attempt did
'I tried to be happy.'

H (36) maile ja:ni: ja:ni: gari ri:s gare
I+NOM knowingly anger did
'I got angry knowingly.'

N (37)*mala:i: ja:ni: ja:ni: gari ri:s uThyo
me+DAT knowingly anger came
'I became angry knowingly.'

N, (38) maile ja:ni: bujhi gari khushi: hune koshish gare
I+NOM knowingly happy to be attempt did
'I tried to be happy knowingly.'

N (39)*mala:i: khushi: hune koshish cha
me+DAT happy to be attempt is
'I am trying to be happy.'

M (40) mi: tya:t̥sa: war mudda:m ra:ga:wlõ
I him on knowingly angry got
'I got angry with him deliberately.'

M (41)*mala: mudda:m ra:ga:la:
me+DAT knowingly anger came
'I knowingly became angry.'

M (42) mi: sukhi: Vha:ya:ca: prayatna kela:
I happy become to attempt did

'I tried to be happy.'

M (43)*mala: sukhi: Vha:yaca: prayatna kela:
me+DAT happy become to attempt did
'I tried to be happy.'

Sentences (34), (37), (39), (41) and (43) are ungrammatical because the adverb ja:nbujhkar and the compound verb koshish karna: cannot occur with stative-inchoative DSC.

Sentences (33), (35), (36), (38), (40), and (42) are acceptable because the adverb ja:nbujhkar and the compound verb koshish karna: can occur with nominative and causative subjects (see also 2.3).

2.3. There seems to be a correlation between stative-inchoative verbal expressions and dative subjects on the one hand and active and causative verbal expressions and nominative subjects on the other. It must be made clear, however, that every construction cannot have all the four possibilities as the starred sentences as the gaps in the following table would show:

- | | STATIVE | INCHOATIVE | ACTIVE | CAUSATIVE |
|-------|---|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| H(44) | usko gussa: hai
him+DAT anger is | usko gussa: a:ya:
him+DAT anger came | usne gussa: kiya:
he+NOM anger did | maine usko gussa:
I+NOM him+DAT anger
dila:ya:
give+CAUSE
'I made him angry.' |
| | 'He is angry.' | 'He became angry.' | 'He got angry.' | |
| N(45) | usla:i: ma ma:thi:
him+DAT I on
ri:s cha
anger is | usla:i: ri:s uThyo
him+DAT anger rose | u risa:yo
he+NOM got angry | maile usla:i:
I+NOM him+DAT
ri:s uTha:ẽ
anger rise+CAUSE
'I made him angry.' |
| | 'He is angry with me.' | 'He became angry.' | 'He got angry.' | |
| M(46) | tya:la: tya:ca:var
he+DAT him on
pha:r ra:g a:he
very anger is | tya:la: ra:g a:la:
he+DAT anger came | to ra:ga:vala:
he anger did | tya:ne tila: ra:ga:
he by her+DAT anger
a:Nle
brought
'He made her angry.' |
| | 'He is angry with me.' | 'He became angry.' | 'He got angry.' | |
| H(47) | mujhko bhu:kh hai
me+DAT hunger is | mujhko bhu:kh lagi:
me+DAT hunger came | *maine bhu:kh ki:
I+NOM him+DAT | maine usko
bhu:kh: kara:ya |

STATIVE	INCHOATIVE	ACTIVE	CAUSATIVE
'I am hungry.'	'I became hungry.'	*I did the hunger.'	hungry did+CAUSE 'I made him hungry.'
N(48) *mala:i: bhokh cha me+DAT hunger is	mala:i: bhokh la:gyo *maile bhokh garẽ me+DAT hunger came I+NOM hunger did		*maile usla:i: I+NOM him+DAT bhokh gara:ẽ hunger did+CAUSE 'I made him hungry.'
'I am hungry.'	'I became hungry.'	'I got hungry.'	
M(49) mala: khu:p bhu:kh a:he mala: bhu:kh la:gi: *mi: bhu:k keli: me+DAT very hunger is me+DAT hunger begin I hunger made a:he is			*mi: tya:la: I him+DAT bhu:kele kele hungry did+CAUSE 'I made him hungry.'
'I ma very hungry.'	'I became hungry.'	*'I made myself hungry.'	
H(50) *mujhko hãsi: hai me+DAT laughter is	mujhko hãsi: a:i: māl hãsa: me+DAT laughter I laughed came		mālne usko hasa:ya: I+NOM him+DAT laugh +CAUSE 'I made him laugh.'
*'I have laughter.'	'I laughed.'	'I laughed.'	

STATIVE	INCHOATIVE	ACTIVE	CAUSATIVE
N(51) *mala:i: hã:so cha me+DAT laughter is	mala:i: hã:so uThyo ma hã: se me+DAT laughter rose	I laughed	maile usla:i: I+NOM him+DAT hãsa:ẽ laugh+CAUSE 'I made him laugh.'
*'I have laughter.'	'I laughed.'	'I laughed.'	
M(52) *mala: hãsne a:he me+DAT laughing is	mala: hasũ:a:le me+DAT laughter came I laughed	mi:hãslõ I laughed	mi: tya:la: I him+DAT hasavale laugh+CAUSE 'I made him laugh.'
*'I have laughter.'	'I laughed.'	'I laughed.'	
H(53) mujhko ja:na: hai/paRa: me+DAT to go is/had to	*mujhko ja:na: me+DAT to go a:ya came *'Going came to me.'	mãl गया: I went	maine usko bheja: I+NOM him+DAT go+ CAUSE 'I sent him.'
'I have to go.'	'I have to go.'		
N(54) mala:i: ja:nu cha me+DAT to go is	*mala:i: ja:ne a:yo ma gaye me+DAT to go came I went	maile usla:i: I+NOM him+DAT paTha:yẽ go+CAUSE 'I made him go.'	
'I have to go.'	*'Going came to me.'	'I went.'	

STATIVE	INCHOATIVE	ACTIVE	CAUSATIVE
M(55) mala: ja:yacēa:he me+DAT to go is 'I have to go.'	*mala: ja:ie a:la: mi: gelo me+DAT going came I went 'Going came to me.' 'I went.'	mi:tya:la: pa:Thavlē I him+DAT go+CAUSE 'I made him go.'	
H(56) -----	mujhko sher dikha:i: maine sher ko me+DAT lion came I+NOM the lion I+NOM him+DAT lion paRa: dekha: into sight saw 'I saw the lion.'	dikha:ya: see+CAUSE 'I showed him the lion.'	
N(57) -----	mala:i: bā:gh me+DAT lion dekha:i diyo came into sight 'I saw the lion.'	maile ba:gh I+NOM lion dekhē saw 'I saw the lion.'	maile usla:i I+NOM him+DAT ba:gh dekha:ē lion see+CAUSE 'I showed him the lion.'
M(58) -----	mala:va:gh disla: me+DAT lion came	mi:va:gh pa:hila: mi:tya:la: va:gh I lion saw I him+DAT tiger	

	into sight	da:khavi:la:
		see+CAUSE
'I saw the	'I saw the	'I showed him
tiger.'	tiger.'	the tiger.'

The above table illustrates the semantics of dative subjects. Dative subjects occur only with stative and inchoative verbs where they are experiencers or recipients and not initiators or volitional agents.

On the basis of the above table, we propose the following VERB HIERARCHY, which applies to these three languages and our hypothesis is that it will apply to most of the languages having DSC.

VERB HIERARCHY can be stated as follows:

(59) VERB HIERARCHY

CAUSATIVE > ACTIVE > INCHOATIVE > STATIVE

Condition: Except modal constructions

The VERB HIERARCHY states that if there is a causative construction in a language, the tendency is that it will also have active, inchoative and/or stative. The converse is not true. Modal constructions behave differently.

3.0. In this section, we discuss some syntactic processes of DSC in all the three languages. Kachru (1970) and Davison (1968) have argued that dative subjects are in fact subjects which transformationally get dative marker attached to them. The position we are going to

take in this paper is that dative subjects are in fact subjects in several syntactic processes though in terms of coding properties (i.e. agreement and case marking) and semantic properties (i.e. not being initiators or volitional agents) they function as affected. But the syntactic evidence in favour of regarding them as subjects is overwhelming as it would be clear from the following discussion. We owe the conceptualization and some of the Hindi examples to Kachru et al (1975).

3.1. REFLEXIVIZATION

In Hindi, a reflexive is formed by changing the co-referential NP by apna: or apne a:p in a simple sentence. In Nepali, a:phnu and a:phāi are used for coreferential NP and the clause mate condition also holds. In Marathi, a:plya: or swatah are used for coreferential NP and the condition of clause-mate also applies. Further, it is only the subject that controls reflexivization in these three languages:

H(60)	ra:m	apne	ghar	gaya:
	Ram	REFL	house	went

'Ram went to his own house.'

H(61)	ra:mne	mohan	ko	apne	ghar	bheja:
	Ram+NOM	Mohan	DAT	REFL	house	sent

'Ram sent Mohan to his own house.'

N(62)	ra:m	a:phno	ghar	gayo
	Ram	REFL	house	went

'Ram went to his own house.'

N(63)	ra:mle	mohan	la:i:	a:phno	ghar	paTha:yo
	Ram+NOM	Mohan	DAT	REFL	house	sent

'Ram sent Mohan to his own house.'

M(64) ra:m a:plya: ghari: gela:
 Ram REFL house to went
 'Ram went to his own house.'

M(65) ra:mane mohan la: a:plya: ghari: pa:Thawla:
 Ram NOM Mohan DAT REFL house to sent
 'Ram sent Mohan to his own house.'

In (60) apne refers to Ram, which is the subject.
 In (61) apne is ambiguous; it can refer either to Ram or Mohan but the primary meaning refers to Ram. If one has to refer to Mohan exclusively, one would prefer to use a pronoun uske 'his' instead of apne.

The same generalization holds true for Nepali and Marathi. If we accept this generalization, it follows that subject is the controller of the reflexive. In the light of the above generalization, let us look at DSC and see how reflexivization works in them:

H(66) laRke ko apne dost ya:d a:ye
 boy DAT REFL friends memory came
 'The boy remembered his own friends.'

N(67) ra:m la:i: a:phno bha:i:ko samjhana: a:yo
 Ram DAT REFL brother+GEN memory came
 'Ram remembered his own brother.'

M(68) mala: a:plya: mitrachi: a:thvaN a:li:
 me+DAT REFL friends+GEN memory came
 'I remembered my own friends.'

In (66) apne refers to laRke ko, which is a dative subject. In (67) a:phno refers to ra:m la:i: and a:plya: in (68) refers to the dative subject mala:. This shows that dative subjects control reflexivization in the above sentences as nominative subjects do in (60-65).

3.2. CONJUNCTION REDUCTION

The second syntactic process that we want to examine with reference to DSC is conjunction reduction. In conjunction reduction one of the two or more clauses retains the main verb and others are reduced to participial constructions (depending upon the logical sequence, meaning etc.). There is no limit on the clauses thus conjoined. All but one subject are deleted as they are coreferential.

H(69) ghar a:kar ra:mne kha:na: kha:ya:
 home having come Ram+NOM food ate
 'Having come home, Ram ate food.'

N(70) ghar gayera ra:mle kha:na: kha:yo
 home having gone Ram+NOM food ate
 'Having gone home, Ram ate food.'

M(71) ghari: yewun ra:m jewala:
 home-to having come Ram ate-food
 'Having come home, Ram ate food.'

H(72) *mohan ghar a:kar ra:mne kha:na: kha:ya:
 Mohan home having come Ram+NOM food ate
 'Mohan having come home, Ram ate food.'

In (69), the underlying structure is: ((ra:m ghar a:ya:) _s aur (ra:m ne kha:na: kha:ya:) _s). Then the

coreferential NP deletion rule applies which deletes the first occurrence of ra:m and changes a:ya: into a participial construction a:kar. The same rules apply to Nepali and Marathi. (72) is ungrammatical because the subject of the participial construction is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause and hence cannot be deleted. The ungrammaticality of (72) further proves that coreferential NP deletion in such constructions applies only to subjects. Let us now examine DSC vis a vis conjunction reduction transformation. Consider:

H(73) uma: ko dekhkar usko apni:

Uma DAT having seen him+DAT REFL

patni: ki: ya:d a:i:

wife GEN memory came

'Having seen Uma, he was reminded of his own wife.'

The above sentence can be derived from: ((usne uma: ko dekha) usko apni: patni: ki: ya:d a:i:).
_S _{SS} _S

In this case the dative subject usko triggers the deletion of the nominative subject usne and functions as a controller of coreferential NP deletion in such reduced constructions. Consider the following sentences from Nepali and Marathi where the same generalization holds true:

N(74) si:ta: la:i: dekhera shya:m la:i:
 Sita DAT having seen Shyam DAT

aphni: swa:sni: ko samjhana: a:yo
 REFL wife DAT memory came

'Having seen Sita, Shyam was reminded of his own wife.'

M(75) uma: la: pa:hun tya:la: a:plya:
 Uma DAT having seen him+DAT REFL

ba:i kotsi: a:thvaN a:li:
 wife+GEN memory came

'Having seen Uma, he was reminded of his
 own wife.'

In (74), DS shya:m la:i: triggers the deletion of
shya:m le in the underlying sentence: (shya:m le si:ta:
 la:i: dekhyo_s).

Similarly in (75), the dative subject tya:la: brings
 about the deletion of tya:ni:.

These examples prove that it is the dative subject
 that controls the deletion of coreferential NPs in the
 underlying structures. Thus we can say that dative
 subjects behave like subjects with respect to conjunction
 reduction transformation.

3.3. EQUI-NP DELETION

Equi-NP deletion in these languages is governed by
 a certain class of predicates such as ca:hna: 'to want',
ira:da: karna: 'to intend', su:cna: dena: 'to inform',
a:sha: karna: 'to hope', ya:d a:na: 'to remember', etc.
 The NP of the higher clause triggers the deletion of
 the coreferential NP of the lower clause and the ka:-na:
 type complement is created. Consider:

H(76) ra:m ne phal kha:ne ki: ba:t
 Ram NOM fruit to eat GEN statement

swi:ka:r ki
 accept did

'Ram accepted to have eaten the fruit.'

N(77) ra:m le phalphu:l kha:yeko kura:
 Ram NOM fruit to eat GEN statement
 swika:r garyo
 accept did.

'Ram accepted to have eaten the fruit.'

M(78) ra:ma ne phal kha:Nya:tse ma:nya kele
 Ram NOM fruit to eat+GEN accept did
 'Ram accepted to have eaten the fruit.'

In (76) ra:mne in the higher clause triggers the deletion of ra:mne in the lower clause which acts as subject of ra:mne phal kha:ya:. The same generalization holds true for Nepali and Marathi. Now consider Equi-NP deletion with respect to DSC:

H(79) ra:m ko uma: ka: dil toRne ki:
 Ram, DAT Uma GEN heart to break GEN

ba:t ya:d a:i:

statement memory came

'Ram remembered to have broken Uma's heart.'

N(80) ra:m la:i: uma: ko chitta-dukha:eko
 Ram DAT Uma DAT to hurt feelings+GEN

kura: ya:d a:yo

statement memory came

'Ram remembered to have hurt Uma's feelings.'

M(81) ra:ma: la: uma: la: dukkha
 Ram DAT Uma DAT sorrow

dilya:ci: a:ThvaN: li:

having given+GEN memory came

'Ram remembered to have caused sorrow to Uma.'

Notice (79) has the following deep structure: (ra:m_S ko ((ra:m ne uma: ka: dil toRa:) ba:t) ya:d a:i:)).

The dative subject ra:m ko then causes the deletion of ra:m ne in the lower clause because they are identical. Nepali and Marathi data follow the same pattern.

3.4. RAISING

Raising in Hindi is restricted only to a small number of predicates such as dekhna: 'to see', pa:na: 'to find', samajhana: 'to understand', prati:t hona: 'to seem' etc. The same seems to be true about Nepali and Marathi, though this needs further investigation. In Raising, the subject of the lower clause is raised to the object position of the higher clause and it acquires object properties to some extent. Consider:

H(82) māĩ ne ra:m ko wahã: ja:te hue dekha:
 I+NOM Ram DAT there going saw
 'I saw Ram going there.'

This sentence can be derived from: (maine Δ ((
ra:m wahã: ja: raha: tha:) dekha:)) Then ra:m is
raised to the object position shown by the delta. The
same happens in Nepali and Marathi.

N(83) maile ra:m la:i: ghar gai: raheko dekhā
I+NOM Ram DAT house going saw
'I saw Ram going home.'

M(84) mi: ra:ma: la: tikRe ja:ta:na: pa:hila:
 I Ram DAT there going saw
 'I saw Ram going there.'

These examples show that it is the subject of the lower clause that is raised in the object position of the higher clause. If the dative subject (This does not apply to the derived dative subjects as in maine ra:m ko piTte dekha:.) of the lower clause can be raised in the object position of the higher clause, it would be an evidence to show that the dative subject originated as subject in the underlying structure. But the evidence for raising with respect to dative subjects is not conclusive. We get sentences where Raising seems to have applied but there are sentences where Raising gives us ungrammatical sentences. For example:

H(85) maïne ra:m ko itna: gussa: a:te
 I+NOM Ram DAT so much anger having
 hue pahle kabhi: nahi: dekha:
 come before never not saw
 tha:
 was
 'I had never seen Ram being so angry before.'

H(86) *maïne ra:m ko bhu:kh lagte-hue
 I+NOM Ram DAT hunger being affected
 dekha:/pa:ya:
 saw/found
 *'I saw/found Ram being affected by hunger.'

H(87) maile ra:m la:i: yattiko ri:saeko
 I+NOM Ram+DAT so much angry
 aghi:/pahila: kahilye dekheko
 before never seen
 thĩ:na
 was not
 'I had never seen Ram so angry before.'

N(88)*maile ra:m la:i: bhokh
 I+NOM Ram DAT hunger
 la:gdai-gareko dekhẽ/pa:yẽ
 being affected saw/found
 *'I saw Ram being affected by hunger.'

M(89) mi: ra:ma:la: itka: ra:g
 I Ram DAT so much anger
 a:lya:t̥sa purvĩ: kadhi: pa:hilẽ navhte
 having come before never saw not
 'I never saw Ram being so angry.'

M(90)*mi: ra:ma:la: bhu:kh la:gta:na:
 I Ram DAT hunger being affected
 kadhi: pa:hila:
 never saw
 *'I never saw Ram being affected by hunger.'

To summarize the arguments in this section, we can say that dative subjects behave like subjects in controlling Reflexivization, Conjunction Reduction and Equi-NP Deletion in all these three languages. The evidence with regard to Raising is marginal.

4.0. In this section, we make a few remarks about Relational Grammar and then suggest a solution of DSC in the framework of Relational Grammar. "The fundamental tenet of Relational Grammar", says Johnson (1977:153) "is that grammatical relations such as "subject of" and "direct object of" play a central role in the syntax of natural languages." Grammatical relations such as 'subject of', 'direct object of', 'indirect object of' (often referred to as terms) are primitives in linguistic theory.

Grammatical relations being pivotal in Relational Grammar, it is natural that it will address itself to the question of nature and role of these relations in possible human languages and thereby in Universal Grammar. Grammatical relations are distinct from discursial notions such as topic and focus as well as semantic notions such as agent, experiencer, etc. The second thing about grammatical relations is that they are universal. Grammatical relations play an important role in syntactic processes like relativization (cf. Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy as discussed by Keenan and Comrie, 1977), reflexivization, passivization etc. In the initial stratum the underlying relations that are unordered are specified in terms of relations. Because of this, it is possible to state universal transformational rules. Since underlying representations are unordered, there are relation changing rules (such as passivization) that apply to the underlying representations cyclically and the rules change grammatical relations. For example, in passivization the object is promoted as subject and the subject is demoted as a *chômeur*. A second category of rules called Linearization Rules assign order such as S+V+DO+OO based on grammatical relations. The third type of rules, sensitive to 'precedence', 'dominance' etc. apply as in Question Inversion etc.

4.1. In the present analysis, we give a very informal account of Relational Grammar. But before we discuss how to provide a model for DSC, it will be worthwhile to review the previous treatments of DSC. Sridhar (1976) discusses four hypotheses regarding dative subject constructions: (i) Null Hypothesis (ii) Dative Subject Hypothesis (iii) Nominative Subject Hypothesis and

(iv) Squishy Hypothesis. He weighs merits and demerits of each and ultimately chooses Dative Subject Hypothesis over others. Null Hypothesis and subjectless hypothesis are parallel. Some scholars think that there is no subject as such in D.S.C. They would like to support their argument by citing neuter agreement in Nepali and in Hindi modal constructions and in some of the Marathi constructions (see sentence 3). But as we know this hypothesis fails to account for some of the syntactic processes such as Reflexivization, Equi-NP Deletion, Conjunction Reduction etc. that are controlled by subject. Dative Subject Hypothesis accounts for the above syntactic processes but fails to account for coding properties such as agreement (in most Hindi and Marathi sentence the agreement is between the verb and the nominative subject) and case marking. Nominative Subject Hypothesis will account for case marking and agreement but fail to take into account the syntactic processes. The Squishy Subject Hypothesis takes preponderance of subject properties (Keenan: 1976) into consideration. This notion of subject becomes vacuous because it is possible to choose subject in different languages on different criteria depending upon the preponderance of features. Sridhar decides in favour of Dative Subject Hypothesis, thus giving more weightage to syntactic properties of subject.

4.3. CLAUSE UNION SOLUTION

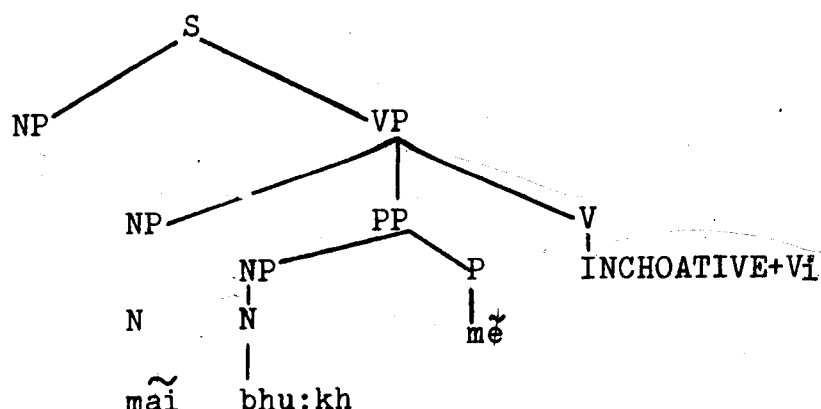
In our analysis, we look at DSC from a different point of view. We essentially accept the hypothesis that dative subjects are subjects in the initial stratum and they become indirect objects in their canonical and final strata by a relation changing rule. We further suggest that the other argument in the dative subject

7



9

(92)



(92) represents an intermediate stratum after the clause union has applied. Low level transformational rules apply that attach ko to māi and delete mẽ from bhu:kh and the readjustment rules convert INCHOATIVE+VI into lagi: and we get the surface form mujhko bhu:kh lagi.

The theoretical implications of this solution are:

- (i) It nicely captures the semantic properties of the sentences. The experiencer of dative subject originates as experiencer in the initial stratum.
- (ii) It also accounts for syntactic processes that are governed by subject such as reflexivization, conjunction reduction etc. In our analysis, these operations will presumably take place before the clause union. This needs further investigation.
- (iii) The solution also accounts for case marking and agreement in that the locational NP becomes nominative subject by losing its post position, so the verb agrees with the least marked NP.
- (iv) The solution neatly ties with the VERB HIERARCHY suggested by us in section 2.3 in that the predicate INCHOATIVE occurs in every Dative Subject Construction.

However, there are two major weaknesses in the solution: (i) It is not clear how a copula becomes another lexical verb when attached to INCHOATIVE. (ii) The solution treats every DSC as intransitive in the underlying structure. It seems to us that these two problems can be solved if we are able to decompose verbs like lagna:, a:na: etc. in a satisfying manner. We do not know at the moment as to how it can be done. Needless to say that this solution is much better than the four hypotheses proposed by Sridhar (1976) because it accounts for all the semantic, syntactic and morphological facts in a principled way.

5.0. CONCLUSION

We have shown that dative subject constructions in Hindi, Nepali and Marathi occur with verbs denoting sense-perception, health conditions, mental and emotional experiences. Then, they obligatorily occur with certain modal constructions expressing obligation, necessity, etc. Concerning agreement, we have shown that except modal constructions (where there is neuter agreement), Hindi verb shows agreement with the nominative subject. Marathi almost shows the same pattern as Hindi except some verbs of sense-perception such as dislā 'to be seen' (see sentence 3) where neuter agreement is used. Concerning modal constructions we further noticed that Nepali can use both dative and nominative constructions for them. We have also discussed some of the semantic and pragmatic properties of dative subject constructions. We noticed that Nepali does not have a corresponding stative dative construction mujhko bhu:kh hai. Nepali uses a nominative construction instead. In terms of syntactic processes all the three languages behave almost alike. In all the

three languages processes like reflexivization, conjunction reduction, Equi-NP and raising are controlled by dative subjects. Some of the examples of Equi-NP for Marathi cut across conjunction reduction though. Lastly we have shown that dative subject constructions can be best accountd for in terms of Clause Union Hypothesis.

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मोलम ७, नं. १ र २

दिसम्बर १९७६ र जुन १९८०

जयकृष्ण जोशीको ऐतिहासिक पत्र

मोहन प्रसाद खनाल^०

श्री ५ स्वामी श्री ५ महाराजा

श्री ब्रह्मपुत्र श्री ज्वालामुखी

१८ ४, ६, १५, २१, २४, २८, २९

१६

२२

१. अर्जि

२. स्वस्ति श्री साकि १४८१ सम्बत् १६१६ वारे बुधवार रोहिणि
नदात्रका दिन श्री ५

३. माहाराज देव साह गोष्णमा राज्यभिषेक हुंदा: पनि हाप्रा ज्यूजु
विश्वेश्वर पा -

४. ध्या टहलमा सामिल थिया गरे: श्री साकि १६६६ सम्बत् १८०१ सम्बत्
सालमा

५. सनिश्चरवार रोहिनि नदात्रमा श्री ४ ले नवाकोट प्रविश गर्दा बाबाजी
पनीट -

६. हलमा सौ मेलै हुनु हुन्थ्यो गरे: श्री साकि १६६० सम्बत् १८२५ का
सम्बत् नेपा -

० श्री मोहन प्रसाद खनाल ने. र. अ. केन्द्रका उप-अनुसन्धान अधिकृत
हुनुहुन्छ ।

७. ल सहरमा पृथ्वीनारायण ६ ले प्रवेस गर्दा हाप्रा बाबा टहलमा सामे-
८. ले थिया श्री साके १७०१ सम्बत् १८३६ का सम्बत्मा मसिरमा आदि-
त्यवार प्रात
९. पटिका २ पला ३३ को साईत गरि लमजुङ्को रागिनासुकी अलाटार-
मा ठा-
१०. ना १ मलायाणर्कमा ठाना १ हात्ता चप्पातर्दा बलभद्र शाह, दामीदर
पाण्डे काजि थि
११. या मपनि काजमा सामिल थिया ताहापक्खि १७०४ का सहकालमा लमजुङ्ग
मादर्
१२. कालिपार तरि मेरि साध लाग्दा सिवनारानुषातु काजी थिया म
पनि काजमा
१३. सामिल थिया: श्री सम्बत् १८४५ का सम्बत्मा भीटकी काम चल्दा केरौ
मुर्गा पट्ट
१४. किर्तिमानुसि वस्न्यात् काजी र अमरसिंह थापा सरदारका साथ
गयाथ्या केरौ मा -
१५. रि मुर्गा हान्दा वाटामा लडाई जीति मदवका दिन ६ जादा
बुधवार धरि २४ मा.
१६. मुर्गा प्रवेस कै १५ ले किल्ला हात मयाकी हो साइत हे-याकी मैले
हो मुर्गा
१७. अम्बल गरि वाटामा ५।६ ठाउँमा लडाई जिती १६ पार साण
फुमारि अम्बल
१८. मयाकी हो श्री सम्बत् १८६२ सालमा परिचम गढ कागडाकी काम
गर्दा काजि

१९. नैनसिं थापाका साथ १८ ले पठावनु मयोथुवो वपाटमा लडाईं
जित्तिदा हँडुर -
२०. कहलुर हात मयाको हो सम्बत् १८६३ साल असारमा सोमवार उजर
फाल्गुनी
२१. नंदात्रको साईत गरि वानाग काटियामा निघाईचन्दसित लडायी
हुँदा वैरिका
२२. लौतु पग्याका ८०० हाप्रा १ त्यो लडाईं २१ ले जित्तिदा निघाई
चन्द्र पर्दा नहु -
२३. नसहर हातमि विपासा नदि तरि २२ को दर्शन मयाको हो ताहापछि
वाक्छा हि -
२४. टियाको लडायि जित्तिदा वैरिका लौतुपग्याका ६०० हाप्रा मन्या
एक पनि घायि -
२५. ल मयेनन् २४ ले त्यो लडाईं जित्तिदा माल्कडा किल्ला कागडा सहर
हात -
२६. मयाको हो पछि सिमोहोडाको राजा कर्मप्रकाश र बाह्र १२ पुराई
यि तवै मि -
२७. लि कुल् गरि वाटो छेकि रस्तामा ठानाहालि वाटो वन्द हुँदा मोर्नि
किल्ला १ धीर्नि
२८. किल्ला १ मारि पाहाडमा ६७ लडायि जिति काजीरणजोर थापाले
जस पाउदा -
२९. २८ का प्रतापले मुर्चा थापीयाको हो पछि गोराले जेतक किल्लामा २
पट्टि पूर्व -
३०. परिचम् २ मुक्त गरि निचुन आउदा गोराले काटि २ पट्टिको लडाईं जित्ति
२६ ले मु -

३१. चथामियाको हो भरी मिहनत मारादार दुनियाले जानैको छ सर
अप्सर माफ भया जा
३२. ला शुभ
३३. जयकृष्ण जोशीको चतुर्वेदोक्त शुभासीवादि संतु

व्याख्या:-

यो पत्र सरदार जयकृष्ण जोशीले श्री ५ गीवाणियुद्ध विक्रम शाहलाई लेखेका हुन् । यी जयकृष्ण जोशी लम्साल घरका उपाध्याय ब्राह्मण थिए । पश्चिम विजय गर्ने काममा काजी अम्बरसिंह थापा, नैनसिंह थापा, बलभद्र शाह काजी दामोदर पाण्डे, शिवनारायण खत्री, काजी रणजोर थापा आदि सेनापतिका साथमा रही यिनैले काम गरेथे । लडाइँको साइत हेर्नु, लेखापढी गर्नु यिनको मुख्य काम थियो । ७५ वर्षको वृद्ध अवस्थासम्म पनि युद्ध स्थलमा रही यिनैले काम गरेथे । आफूना पुर्सा र आफूले गरेका कामको सँदिपत टिपीट लेखी श्री ५ गीवाणियुद्ध विक्रम शाहका हजुरमा यो अर्ज पत्र पठाएका हुन् । तर कहाँबाट यो पत्र पठाइएको हो; मुकाम न-लेखेको हुँदा स्पष्ट हुन सकेन । यस पत्रमा सम्बन्ध पनि दिइएको छैन । वार तिथि मिति समेत नभएको हुँदा गणनाद्वारा पनि यसको सम्बन्ध पत्ता लाग्न सकिँदैन । यसकारण पत्रमा उल्लिखित कुराको आधारमा नै यसको समय पत्ता लाग्नुपरेको छ ।

कपाली प्रवेशका राजाहम्मा कावल्ल, अशोक चल्ल, आदित्य मल्ल, पुण्य मल्ल र पृथ्वी मल्लहरू नामी थिए । त्यसताका जुमला राज्य पूर्वमा त्रिशूली^२ पश्चिममा गङ्गवाल उजरमा पश्चिमी भोट तथा दक्षिणमा तराई

प्रदेशसम्म फैलिसकी थियो । तर पृथ्वीमल्लपछि उनका उत्तराधिकारी
अभयमल्लका समयमा जुम्लाका सामन्तहरूले टाउकी उठाउने मौका पार ।
केन्द्रमा नै भेदिनीब्रह्मा र बलिराजले शक्ति हत्याउन सफल भए । त्यसैताका
डोटी अजयमेर कौटका सामन्त निरयमलले आफूलाई डोटीका स्वतन्त्र राजा
घोषित गरे । यसरी कर्णाली प्रदेशको विशाल राज्य जुम्ला फुटेर पश्चिमी
नेपालमा अनेक राज्यहरू सडा भए ।

लमजुङ्गका राजा यशोब्रह्म शाहको मृत्युपछि नरहरि शाह लमजुङ्गको
गद्दीमा बसे । तर द्रव्यशाहले नारायण दास अयालि, सर्वेश्वर सनाल, गणेश
पाण्डे, भगीरथ पन्थ, केशव वोहोरा र गंगा राना आदिको सहयोगले गोर-
खामा आक्रमण गरे । मुख्य त ब्राह्मणहरूद्वारा नै द्रव्यशाहले गोरखा राज्य
स्थापना गरेथे । वि.सं. १६१६ भाद्र कृष्णअष्टमी रोहिणी नक्षत्र बुधवार
का दिन गोरखाका सङ्का राजालाई परास्त गरी द्रव्यशाह गोरखाको गद्दी
मा आसीन भए^३ । द्रव्यशाहको अभियान सफल गराउने कार्यमा अरू ब्राह्मण-
का साथै विश्वेश्वर लम्सालको पनि भूमिका रहेको थियो । सो कुरा यस
पत्रको ^१स्वस्ति श्री सांके १४८१ सम्बद्ध १६१६ वारे बुधवार रोहिणी नक्ष-
त्रका दिन श्री ५ माहाराजा दर्वेशाह गीसर्मा राज्यभिषेक हुँदा पनि हाभ्रा
ज्युजु विश्वेश्वर पाध्या टहलमा सामिले थिया ^२ भन्ने वाक्यले स्पष्ट गरेको
छ ।

वि.सं. १८०१ मा नेपालको स्वीकरण गर्ने उद्देश्य लिएर श्री ५ पृथ्वी-
नारायण शाह अगाडि बढे । आश्विन १५ गते शनिवारको भिन्नसमिसमा
तीनतिरवाट गोरखालीहरूले नुवाकोटमा आक्रमण गरेथे । नुवाकोटको
सिरानमा रहेको महामण्डल विजय गर्न काजी कालुपाण्डे र काजी सुरप्रताप
शाहले हाकिमको फौज असौवारीको बाटोबाट अगाडि बढ्यो । चैतरिया-
की-तिमहीदाम शाह र तरवार चन्द्रप्रकाश शाहको नेतृत्वमा गरेको सेनाले

१६० सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ७, नं. १ र २ (डिसि. १९७६ र जुन १९८०)

धरमपानीको बाटोबाट धावा बोल्थो । चौतरिया दलमर्दन शाह र सरदार लक्ष्मी नारायण पाण्डेद्वारा हाकिमको फौजले गर्नुको बाटोबाट आक्रमण ग-यो । केही बेरको युद्धपछि नुवाकोटका सेनापति शंखमणि रानालाई बाह्र वर्षका दलमर्दन शाहले काट्यो । यस प्रकार श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले नुवाकोटमा विजय गरे^४ । सोही कुरालाई लिएर श्री साके १६६६ सम्वत् १८०१ सालमा सनिश्चरवार रोहिनी नक्षत्रमा श्री ५ महाराजले नुवाकोट प्रवेश गर्दा बाबाजी पनि टहलमा सामिले हुनु हुन्थ्यो भनी स्कीकरणाको अभियानमा आफ्ना पुस्तहिको योगदानलाई जयकृष्ण जोशीले यहाँ उद्धृत गरेका छन् ।

नुवाकोट विजय मरूपछि क्रमशः बेलकोट, शिवपुरी आदि प्रदेशमा अधिकार जमाउँदै नेपाल उपत्यकामा आर्थिक नाकाबन्दी गरिस्थ्यो । नेपाल उपत्यकाको दक्षिणमा पर्ने मकवानपुर राज्य वि.सं. १८१६ मा विजय गरी वि.सं. १८२२ मा कीर्तिपुरमा गोरसालीहरूले अधिकार गरेथे । वि.सं. १८२४ मा जयप्रकाश मल्लको अनुरोधमा आएका अग्निजी शर्कालाई सिंधुलीमा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायणका सेनाले हराएथे^५ । वि.सं. १८२५ मात्र १४ गते इन्द्रजात्रा को दिन करीव रातको ११ बजे श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहका सेनाले कान्तिपुर शहरमा आक्रमण गरेथे । केहीबेर युद्ध गरी अन्त्यमा जयप्रकाश मल्ल शरणार्थीको रूपमा ललितपुर गएकोले श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले कान्तिपुरमा आफ्नो अधिकार कायम गरे^६ ।

वि.सं. १८३४ श्री ५ प्रतापसिंह शाहको देहान्त भयो । त्यसपछि बैतियामा निर्वासित भएका बहादुर शाह नेपाल आए । बहादुर शाह र राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मीले संयुक्त रूपमा करीव पाँच महिना सम्म शासन चलाए^७ । यसै बीच बैतियामा निर्वासित भएर रहेका महोदाम कीर्ति शाहका माहिला छोरा बलभद्र शाह र कान्छा श्री कृष्णशाहलाई काठमाडौँमा भित्र्याई

बलभद्र शाहलार्ह काजीको पदमा नियुक्त गरे । केही समय पछि देवर र माउज्यूमा मनीमालिन्य भयो । सर्वजित् रानाको बात लगार्ह बहादुर शाहले राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मीलार्ह कैद गरेथे^८ ।

वि.सं. १८३५ मा काजी वंशराज पाण्डे र सरदार वली वानियाको मातहतका सेनाले तनहुँमा आक्रमण ग-यो । तनहुँका ताल्कालिक राजा हरकुमारदत्त सेनाले पाल्पाली राजा मुकुन्द सेन द्वितीयसँग सैनिक सहायता लिई वलिथुममा आड्बारी वसेका थिए । वलिथुममा वसेका हरकुमारदत्त सेनसँग युद्ध हुँदा वलि वानिया सित रहे तथा पर्वतका सेनासहित चौविशीले गोरखाको अधीनमा रहेको सुम्पेरवरमा समेत अधिकार जमायो । पछि बहादुर शाहले सुम्पेरवरका शत्रुलार्ह जिती गुमेका इलाका पुनः फिर्ता गरेथे^९ ।

बहादुर शाह युद्ध संचालनका लागि गोरखा वसेका समयमा महोदाम कीर्तिशाहले कैद भएकी राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मीलार्ह मुक्त गरे । राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मीले आफूना विरोधीहरूको दमन गर्न थालिन् । यसैवेला बहादुर शाह पुनः बेतिया गए^{१०} ।

सम्बत् १८३६ साल मंसिर आदित्यवार विहानको २ घण्टि ३३ पलाको साइत गरि काजी बलभद्र शाह र काजी दामोदर पाण्डेले हाकिमको फौज लम्जुङ्ग विजय गर्न अगाडि बढ्यो । चेपे नदी तरे गोरखाली सेनाले लम्जुङ्गको रागीनास कब्जा गरे । सिरानचोकमा वसेका लम्जुङ्गेहरूसँग गोरखालीहरूको गिडन्त भयो । यस युद्धमा पनि गोरखालीहरू नै विजयी भए । त्यसपछि अलगाटार र मलाया सर्किमा अधिकार जमाउँदै चून्याठानामा गोरखाली सेनाले आक्रमण ग-यो^{११} । वि.सं. १८३८ मा लम्जुङ्ग तनहुँ र पर्वत आदिका सेनाले संयुक्त रूपमा गोरखामा आक्रमण गर्ने योजना बनाए । यो योजनाको खबर पाए पछि कान्तिपुरवाट केही भारदारहरूले सिरानचोकको रक्षाका

लागि कुच गरे । काजी बलभद्र शाह, काजी देवदत्त थापा, काजी दामोदर पाडि र सरदार अम्बरसिंह थापा आदि वीरहरू सिरानचोकको रक्षाका लागि मौजूद थिए । चौविसीका सेनापति गढध्वज पन्थको संयुक्त सेनाले सिरानचोकमा आक्रमण गर्ने विचार गरी भिमर्याकमा बसेका थिए । त्यसै मौकामा काजी बलभद्र शाह आदि सारा गोरखाली पौजेल शत्रुदलमाथि आक्रमण ग-यो । गोरखालीहरूको मारमा परी चौविसीहरू ख्यान व्यान भई भागे । सिरानचोकको आक्रमण विफल भए पनि तारुवकामा चौविसीहरू डटेर बसेका थिए । त्यहाँ पनि गोरखाली मार प-यो । वि.सं. १८३८ को आखिरी लडाइँमा पनि गोरखालीहरू नै विजयी भए र तारुवका गोरखालीहरूको अधिकारमा आयो^{१२}।

वि.सं. १८३६ साल कार्तिकमा लम्जुङ्ग विजय गर्न काजी दामोदर पाडि, काजी देवदत्त थापा सरदार पारथ मण्डारी आदिले हाकिमको सेनाले मोट्या ओढारको बाटो हुँदै अगाडि बढे । सरदार अम्बर सिंह थापा, चौतरीया दलमर्दन शाह चिचि तिरवाट र काजी शिव नारायण खत्री, सरदार प्रतिमन राना पुरानो लम्जुङ्गको बाटोबाट लम्जुङ्गको राजधानी तर्फ बढे । तीनतिरवाट गोरखालीद्वारा घेरिएको हुँदा राजा वीरमर्दन शाह भागे । कार्तिक १८ गते विनायुद्ध नै लम्जुङ्ग विजय भयो^{१३}।

लम्जुङ्ग विजय भए पछि गोरखाली सेनाहरू क्रमशः अगाडि बढ्दै गए । कास्की, तनहुँ, गुल्मी, पैयू, भिरकोट, गरहुँ, सतहुँ, अर्घाखाँची, पर्वत र प्युठान आदि बाइसी र चौविसी राज्यहरू विजय गर्दै वि.सं. १८४३ साल मार्ग ७ गते नेपाल राज्यको पश्चिमी सिमा भेरी नदीसम्म पुग्यो^{१४}।

वि.सं. १८३६ देखि पश्चिम विजय गर्ने काममा दलमुसी मरर रहेका, काजी दामोदर पाण्डे, काजी जीवशाह, काजी वलभद्र शाह, सरदार अम्बरसिंह थापा, काजी शिवनारायण सत्री आदिका साथमा रही जयकृष्ण जीशीले काम गरेथे । नेपाल एकीकरण गर्ने कार्यमा जयकृष्ण र यिनका पुर्खाको पनि योगदान रहेको थियो । सो कुरा यसै पत्रबाट स्पष्ट मस्को छ ।

वि.सं. १८३८ मा दिगर्वाका ठशीलामा पालदेन येशोको मृत्यु भयो । ठशीलामाको मृत्यु भएकोले केही कालका लागि पालदेन येशोका भाइ श्यामपालामा हर्ताकारि मरे । औतारीलामाको परम्पराअनुसार श्यामपालामा ने दिगर्वाका शासक हुन सक्ने थिए । त्यसकारण यही बीचमा श्यामपालामा गुम्वाको केही अम्दानी हात लाग्यो । पछि नयाँ औतारीलामाका मानिसहरूद्वारा गुम्वाको अम्दानी जाँच पड्ताल भयो । हिसाव बुझाउन नसकेको कारणबाट श्यामपालामा कैद गरिए । तर सम्बत् १८४४ मा कैदबाट उम्की श्यामपालामा आफूना १४ जना अनुयायीका साथ शरण लिन नेपाल पसे^{१५} । भोटले श्यामपालामालाई सपुर्दगी गर्न नेपालसँग अनुरोध गरेथ्यो । तर नेपालले श्यामपालामालाई सपुर्दगी गर्न मन्जुर गरिन ।

शुद्ध र भिसावटी टकको सम्बन्धलाई लिइर श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको राज्यकालमा ने नेपाल र भोटको बीच वैमनस्य शुरू भइसकेको थियो । वि.सं. १८३२ को नेपाल भोटको सन्धिले थामपुरसम्म लाग्ने भए पनि यो कुनै पनि बेला बिष्फोटन हुन सक्ने स्थितिमा थियो । उकुश मुकुश मात्र मरर फुट्न नसकेको अवस्थामा श्यामपालामा नेपाल पसेका थिए । श्यामपालामाको विषयलाई लिइर भोटले नेपालसँगका सबै सन्धिहरू तोड्यो । नेपाल र भोटका बाटोहरू बन्द गरिए । पूर्वको बाटोबाट भोटले व्यापार

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गर्न शुरू ग-यो । यसले गर्दा नेपाली मोट माथि आक्रमण गर्नु पर्ने स्थिति प-यो ।

वि.सं. १८४५ मा श्री कृष्ण शाह, काजी रणजीत पाण्डे, सरदार पारथ भण्डारी आदिले नेतृत्व गरेको फौजले श्री व्याङ्ग हुँदै कुचीमा आक्रमण ग-यो । कुची विजय भएपछि लगत्तै शिसारजोडोमा धावा बोल्न नेपालीहरू अग्रसर भए । शिसारजोडोमा भयङ्कर युद्ध भयो । यस पटक नेपालीहरूले शिसारजोडो विजय गर्न सकेनन् । पश्चिमतिरबाट सरदार अम्बर सिंह थापा काजी कीर्तिमान सिंह वस्न्यात आदिद्वारा हाकिमको सेनाले केन्द्रमा आक्रमण ग-यो । केन्द्रमा विजय भएपछि रैला गुम्बामा युद्ध भयो । त्यसपछि नेपाली सेनाले नाम्चे लार्जे किल्लामा अधिकार जमाए तथा ब्रह्म-पुत्रका तीरमा युद्ध गरे । मल्मल पाटको युद्धमा विजयी नेपाली सेना ब्रह्म-पुत्रको ढियामा अग्रसर भयो । त्यसपछि जयकृष्ण जोशीको साहसमा (मात्र ६ गते बुधवार २४ घडी) नेपाली सेनाले शिसारजोडो विजय ग-यो । सो कुरा यसै पत्रले स्पष्ट गरेको छ ।

वि.सं. १८४६ मा चीनीयाँ सेनापति टुङ्गथानले नेपालमा आक्रमण गरे । सो आक्रमणलाई रोक्न पश्चिम विजय गर्न गस्का सम्पूर्ण नेपाली सेनालाई तात्कालिक नेपाल सरकारले फिर्ता बोलाएथ्यो । केन्द्रबाट बोलावटको लालमोहर आएको हुँदा गढवाल विजय गर्न गस्का काजी रणजीत पाण्डेले गढवाली राजा प्रभुमन शाहसँग सन्धि गरी फर्कनु प-यो । यस सन्धि अनुसार गढवालले नेपाललाई बर्सेनी २५ हजार रूपैयाँ करको रूपमा तिर्नु पर्दथ्यो । परन्तु रणवहादुर शाह र भारदारहरूका बीच कलह भएकी हुँदा नेपाललाई कमजोर भएकी ठानी गढवाली राजा प्रभुमन शाहले केही वर्षा यतादेखि उक्त कर बुझाउन छाडेका थिए । वि.सं. १८६१ साल बंशासमा चौतरीया हरिहर शाह र काजी अम्बर सिंह थापाको नेतृत्वमा

वैशाखमा चौतरीया हस्तदल शाह र काजी अम्बर सिंह थापाको नेतृत्वमा खुटा फौज गढवालको लागि रवाना भयो । पूर्व शर्तअनुसार कर नतिरी नेपाली सेनालाई हटाउने विचार प्रधुम्न शाहले गरियो । तर नेपाली सेनाले गढवालको राजधानी श्रीनगर नै दस्तल ग-यो । यसपछि प्रधुम्न शाहले केही सेना जम्मा गरी नेपालीसँग लड्न आए । कार्तिकमा देहरादुनमा ठूलो युद्ध भयो । यस युद्धमा राजा प्रधुम्न शाह मारिए तथा उनका अनुयायीहरूले भागिर ज्यानसम्म जोगिए ।

गढवाल विजयपछि काजी अम्बर सिंह थापाले कागडा विजय गर्नको लागि योजना बनाए । कागडा विजय गर्नु सजिलो थिएन । त्यस कारण केन्द्रबाट थप सैनिक पठाउनु जरूरी थियो । कागडामा आक्रमण गर्ने हेतुले केन्द्रबाट काजी नैनसिंह थापाको नेतृत्वमा फौज पठाउने व्यवस्था भयो । यसको लागि घरमा बसेका पुराना भारदारहरूलाई बोलाबटको पत्र पठाइयो । पत्र पाएपछि सबै भारदारहरू राजधानीमा जम्मा भए । तर कति सैनिक र को कसलाई कहिले सम्म पठाउने भन्ने निधो भएन । यसले गर्दा केन्द्रमा आएका केही भारदारहरू आ-आफूना घर फर्के । गढवालबाट सिरमौरका राजा कर्मप्रकाशको पत्रसहित काजी अम्बर सिंह थापाले पठाएको मानिस आउँदा वि.सं. १८६१ माघको अन्त्यतिर फेरि भारदारहरूका नाउँमा तुरुन्त आउनु भन्ने लाल्मोहर पठाइयो १६।

वि.सं. १८६२ साल असोजमा काजी नैनसिंह थापा सरदार जयकृष्ण जोशीका साथ नेपाली सेनाको एक डफ्फाले गढवालको लागि प्रस्थान ग-यो । कार्तिक निकल्दा नैनसिंह थापाद्वारा हाकिमको फौज काजी अम्बर सिंह थापा बसेको आठ गढवाल पुग्यो ।

सतलजपार कागडाका राजा संसारचन्द्रले हिमेली राज्यहरूमा आक्रमण गर्दै राज्य विस्तार गरिरहेका थिए । सिरमोरियाका राजा धर्मप्रकाशको र कागडाका राजा संसारचन्द्रको लडाईँ हुँदा धर्मप्रकाशको मृत्यु भएथ्यो । यसपछि धर्मप्रकाशका भाइ कर्मप्रकाश सिरमोरको गद्दीमा बसेथे । दाजुको बदला लिन धर्मप्रकाशले काजी अम्बर सिंह थापासँग सहायता मागे । काजी मर्कि थापाको मातहतमा कर्मप्रकाशलाई मदत गर्न एक हजार नेपाली सेना अगाडि बढ्यो । नेपाली तथा सिरमोरियाको संयुक्त सेन्यले कागडाका फौजमाथि आक्रमण ग-यो । हन्डुरका राजालाई आफूपट्टि मिलाएका हुँदा कागडाको शक्ति पनि मजबूत थियो । त्यसकारण यस युद्धमा संसारचन्द्र विजयी भए ।

कान्तिपुरबाट मदतका लागि काजी नैनसिंह थापाको नेतृत्वमा गएको सेन्यदल पुगेपछि काजी अम्बर सिंह थापालाई अगाडि बढ्न निकै भरोसा भयो । सिरमोरका राजा कर्मप्रकाशको सहायताको साथ आफ्नो उद्देश्य पूर्ति गर्ने कार्यमा काजी अम्बर सिंह थापा लागेका थिए । काजी अम्बर सिंह थापा र नैनसिंह थापाद्वारा हकिरको फौजले बघाटमा बसेका शत्रु दलमाथि आक्रमण गरे । बघाटको युद्धमा विजयी नेपाली सेनाले हन्डुर र कहलुरमा आफ्नो आधिपत्य स्थापित गरे ।

हन्डुर कहलुर दसल गरिसकेपछि नेपाली सेना कागडा विजय गर्ने हेतुले अगाडि बढ्यो । नेपाली सेनाका साथ सिरमोरका राजा कर्मप्रकाश आफ्ना सेन्यसाथ कागडा कब्जा गर्न आएका थिए । सिरमोरका राजा सहित भएर नेपाली सेन्यदलले कागडाको सरहद भित्र प्रवेश ग-यो । यो कुरा थाहा पाएपछि कागडाका राजा संसार चन्द्रले चौतरिया निगाही चन्द्रकी मातहतमा सठ्ठा विशाल सेनालाई नेपाली फौजाका विरुद्ध लड्न पठाए ।

करीब बाह्र हजार फौजका साथ कागडाका चौतरिया निगाही चन्द नेपाली सैन्य दललाई हटाउन वानाग काटिया नजीकै आई बसे । वि.सं. १८६३ साल असार सोमवार उच्च फाल्गुनी नदात्रको साइत गरी काजी अम्बर सिंह थापा र नैनसिंह थापाले दुई तर्फबाट आक्रमण गरे । वानाग काटियामा घमासान युद्ध भयो । सेनापति निगाई चन्द सहित आठ सय कागडाका सैन्यका साथ एक जना नेपाली सैनिकले वीर गति प्राप्त गरे । वानाग काटियामा बिजयी नेपाली सेनाले कागडाको महान शहर कब्जा गर्‍यो । त्यसपछि विपाशा नदी तरी कागडाको प्रसिद्ध तीर्थस्थल ज्वालाजी पनि नेपालीहरूले विजय गरे । सो कुरा यौ पत्रवाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

वि.सं. १८६३ भाद्रमा काजी अम्बर सिंह थापा र नैनसिंह थापा कागडाको किल्ला बिजय गर्न अगाडि बढे । तर सरदार भजि थापालाई बाक्लाहिटीको टेहरा किल्ला कब्जा गर्न सटाइयो । यसैबेला हन्डुरका राजाले आफ्नो राज्य फिर्ता गर्ने उद्योग गरे । परन्तु काजी जसपाउ थापा सरदार अंगद घले र सुब्बा हस्तदल साह आदि सेनापतिहरूले कागडाबाट आई हन्डुरका राजा राम धरणालाई धपाई पुनः हन्डुरमा अधिकार कायम गरे । टेहरा किल्ला कब्जा गर्न हिडेका सरदार भजि थापाले किल्लाको वरिपरि ६ वटा ठाना हालि टेहरालाई घेरा दिई बसेका थिए । नेपालीहरूले टेहरा किल्ला लाई घेरा दिइको हुँदा कागडाका सेनापति बन्वजीर ठूलो सैन्य साथ भजि थापासँग लड्न आए । ठूलो युद्ध भयो । सेनापति बन्वजीर सहित कागडाका ५०० जे सय सेना यस युद्धमा मारिए । कागडाको पलाम किल्ला तथा टेहरा किल्लामा अधिकार गरेपछि नेपाली सेनाले कागडा शहर पनि कब्जा गरे ।

वि.सं. १८६५ को प्रारम्भमा शिरमौरका राजा कर्मप्रकाश आफूना किल्लाहरूमा फौज राखी तयारी साथ बसेथे । यी देसी नेपालीहरू सशस्त्र हुन थाले । कागडाको किल्लामा नेपालीहरूले कब्जा गर्न नसकेको कारणबाट बरपरका साना रजीटाहरूले नेपालीहरूसँग युद्ध गरी स्वतन्त्र हुने चेष्टा गरे । शिरमौरका राजा कर्मप्रकाशले हालिका ठानाहरू उठाउन कागडाबाट सुबेदार बाजबर्ण थापा र काल थापाको मातहतमा २ कम्पनी फौजलाई सरदार भक्ति थापाले विदा गरेथे । उक्त फौजले कर्मप्रकाशलाई ठाना उठाउन विवश गरिदियो^{१७} ।

वि.सं. १८६६ को शुभमा कागडाका राजा संसार चन्दले ११ दिनको भाका मागी आफूना मन्त्री नौरङ्गको हात काजी अम्बरसिंह थापाकाहा पत्र पठाएथे । यसरी तीन तीन पटक पत्र पठाएका हुँदा काजी अम्बरसिंह थापाले ११ दिनपछि किल्ला कागडा छाडिदिने शर्तमा संसार चन्द्रलाई माल सामान तथा जहान बच्चा बाहिर लान दिन आफूना चौकीहरू उठाई दिए । परन्तु चतुर संसार चन्दले राता रात गरी किल्लाभित्र रसद र सामरिक हतियारहरू थुपार्न थाले । यसै मौकालाई अनुकूल पारी पंजाबका राजा रणजित सिंह कहाँ सहायता माग्न पुगे^{१८} । कागडा किल्ला आफूनी हातमा पनि देसी रणजित सिंहले नेपालीहरूको विरुद्ध कागडामा फौज पठारे । ११ दिनको भाकापछि संसार चन्दले किल्ला साली गर्नुको साटो नेपालीहरूमाथि आक्रमण गर्न शुरू गरे । यसपछि वि.सं. १८६६ साल जेष्ठ १७ गते रणजितसिंहको फौज पनि नेपालीहरूको विरुद्धमा पठानकोट आइपुग्यो^{१९} । यसले गर्दा स्थानीय रजीटाहरू पनि नेपालीहरूको विरुद्धमा सडा हुन थाले ।

वि.सं. १८६६ साल असारमा शिरमौरका राजा कर्मप्रकाश र बाह्र ठकुराईका अन्य राजाहरू मिली नेपाली सेनाको रसद रोक्ने चेष्टा गर्न लागि ।

कागडाको उत्तर पूर्वमा पर्ने पहाडी बाटोका ठाउँ ठाउँमा ठाना हाली बाटो
 केनै काममा स्थानीय राजाहरू लागेका थिए । यसले गर्दा नेपालीहरूलाई
 अपठ्यारो स्थितिमा पा-यो । तर पनि काजी रणजीर थापाद्वारा
 नेतृत्व गरिएको सेनाले मोर्निर्को तथा धोर्निर्को किल्ला माथि आक्रमण
 ग-यो । त्यहाँ भएका सबै शत्रुहरू परास्त भए । बाँकी अन्य ६/७ ठाउँमा
 बसेका बेरीहरूमाथि पनि नेपाली सेनाले विजय गरेथ्यो ।

वि.सं. १८७१ साल पौषमा अंग्रेजी सेनाले जेथकको किल्लामा आक्रमण गर्ने योजना बनायो । पूर्व योजनाअनुसार किल्लाको पश्चिमी भागबाट मेजर लड्डीले ८०० सैनिकका साथ रातमा आक्रमण गरेथे । अचानक रातमा भएको आक्रमणमा २।४ चौकीमा बसेका नेपाली सेना विजय हुनु सम्भव थिएन । यसले गर्दा अंग्रेजहरूको हौसला फुट्न बढ्न लाग्यो । रातको करीब ११ बजेतिर मेजर लड्डीद्वारा हाकिमको अंग्रेजी सेनाले नेपालीको चौथो चौकीसम्म विजय गर्दै अगाडि बढ्यो । परन्तु नेपालीहरूले वीरताको प्रतीक नाङ्गो सुकुरी भित्रको एककासि जोडदार आक्रमण गरिदिए । नेपालीहरूको अगाडि अंग्रेज सेना टिक्न सक्नु सम्भव थिएन । सुकुरीको भारमा परी शत्रु सेना भाग्नु थाल्यो । डेढ सय जति अंग्रेजी सेनाले गौरसालीको सुकुरीमा परी ज्यान फुयाकेथे । बाँकी भएका सारा फौज साथ मेजर लड्डीहरू बा मुस लगाउँदै मोलिपल्ट विहान १० बजेतिर नाहनको आफ्नो किल्लामा पुगेथे^{२०} ।

जेथकको पूर्वी भागबाट आक्रमण गर्ने उद्देश्य लिएर मेजर रिचार्डसले हाकिमको फौज मोलि पल्ट १० बजेतिर किल्लामा पु-यो । किल्लाको पश्चिमी भागबाट आबा बोल्न आएका लड्डी पूर्व निश्चित समयभन्दा पहिले नै नेपालीहरूसँग हारिर भागी सकेका थिए । दिनको १ बजे काजी

रणजीर थापाले हाकिमको फौजले अंग्रेजी सेनाउपर आक्रमण गरि -
दियो । दिनभर दुवै तर्फबाट युद्ध भै रह्यो । घाम नअस्ताउनेलेसम्म
त अंग्रेजहरूले जेतैन आफूलाई बचाउन अनेक उपाय गर्दै रहे । तर घाम
अस्ताएपछि भने नेपालीहरू अंग्रेजी सेनाउपर सनिए । सेनापति रिचार्डका
साथ आएका ३ अफिसर तथा ७८ सैनिकहरू मारिए र ३०६ व्यक्तिहरू
जस्मी भए^{२९} । यसरी बाँकी भएकी अंग्रेजी सेनाले नहान्मा पुगी आफूनी
ज्यान जोगाए ।

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजीविसर्जकस्य रुका — — — — —
आगे जयकस्तु जोशी के प्रणाम उग्रान्तस्वस्ति तिमिलाई कहि
काज निमित्त फिका दृष्टया को हो वेगान्वाडो नहुं दाउं सैद्यार
गया छौं मोहर पुग् न विनि कैवाडो वाडो आउं दिति सन्धत
१८८९ साल मिति माघ वदि १० रोज ४ भुजभ

टिप्पणीहरू

१. मेरी संग्रहमा भएको अप्रकाशित पत्रबाट
२. मोहन प्रसाद सनाल; मध्यकालीन अभिलेख पृ. १-८ काठमाडौं २०३०
३. बाबुराम आचार्य - श्री ५ बडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाह
-सिद्धिमाप्त जीवनी भाग १ को पृष्ठ ४ राजदरबार काठमाडौं २०२४
४. मोहन प्रसाद सनाल - इतिहास- प्रभात पृष्ठ ७-८ काठमाडौं २०२६
५. मोहन प्रसाद सनाल - अग्रिको आक्रमणमा पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको
विजय- प्राचीन नेपाल अंक १४ को पृष्ठ ५७-६१ पुरातत्व विभाग २०२७
६. मोहन प्रसाद सनाल - इतिहास - प्रभात पृष्ठ १७ काठमाडौं २०२६
७. बाबुराम आचार्य - नेपालको सिद्धिमाप्त वृत्तान्त पृष्ठ ७७-७८ काठमाडौं
८. उही पृष्ठ ७८
९. उही पृष्ठ ७९
१०. उही पृष्ठ ७९-८०
११. शंकरमान राजवंशी - पुरातत्व पत्र संग्रह भाग ३ को पृष्ठ १४ - पुरातत्व
विभाग
१२. मेरी संग्रहमा भएको अप्रकाशित पत्रको आधारमा
१३. मोहन प्रसाद सनाल- इतिहास प्रभात पृष्ठ २४-२५ काठमाडौं २०२६
१४. उही पृष्ठ ३५-४०
१५. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, ज्ञानमणि नेपाल - ऐतिहासिक पत्र संग्रह भाग १ को
पृष्ठ ६३ नेपाल - सांस्कृतिक परिषद् काठमाडौं २०१४
१६. स्वस्ति श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज कस्थ श्रवका -----
आगे जयकृष्ण जोशीके प्रणाम उपरान्त अस्ति तिमीलाई केहि काज

१७२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ७, नं. १ र २ (डिसि. १९७६ र जुन १९८०)

निमित्त भिकाई पठाया को हो ठेगान चाँदी नहुँदा उसै घर

गयाको मोहर पुग्न बिचै चाँदी चाँदी आउ ईति सम्बत १८६१

साल मिति माघ बदि ३० रोज ४ शुभम् -----

१७. योगी नरहरिनाथ इतिहास- प्रकाश अंक १ को पृष्ठ १० इतिहास

प्रकाश मण्डल काठमाडौं २०११

१८. महेशराज पन्त - वीरभक्ति थापा- पुर्णिमा १६ पूर्णाङ्कको पृष्ठ २०७,

संशोधन मण्डल २०२५

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वर्ति-

स्वसि श्रीसाके १४८७ सम्वत् १८१६ वारे बुधवार रोहितिनचवकादिन श्रीप
माहाराजा देवसाहजोका माशामिधेक दुयाः यनि ६ धा ज्म जुविश्वेश्वर पा
धाटहलमासामेलेथियागरेः श्रीसाके १६६६ सम्वत् १८०९ सम्वत्सालमा
सनिश्वरवार रोहितिनचवमा श्री- ४ लेनकाकाट प्रवेश गर्दवावाजीपनिठ
हलमासामेलेहुतुहुणगरेः श्रीसाके १६९० सम्वत् १८२५ कासम्वत्सालमा
लेसरमा - - - पृथ्वीनारायण - - - लेप्रवेश गर्द हंप्रावावाटहलमासामे
लेथिया श्रीसाके १७०९ सम्वत् १८३६ कासम्वत्सालमा मंमिरमा आदित्यवार प्रात
घडिका २ पला ३३ कोसार्द तगरि लमलुं कोरागिनासको अस्त गाढरमाठा
ना १ भलायासक मोठाना १ घल्लावेयातर्द वनभदसाह समोदर पाडेको जीधि
या मयनिका जमासामेलेथिया ताका पट्टि १७०४ कासह कालमालम जुंमार्द
कालिगार तरि मेरि साधलाया सिवनारानवत क जीधिया मपनिका जमा
सामेलेथिया श्रीसम्वत् १८४५ कासम्वत्सालमा भोटका कामवला केरो जुंगा पट्टि
किर्तिमान सिवल्यातको जीर-अमर सिंहथापास दीरकासाथ गयाथा केरोमा
रि जुंगाहावाटमालाई जीतिभटवको दिन २ जादुव वार धरि २४ मा
जुंगाप्रवेश भ- - - लोकेलाहातभयाको हो सार्द तहसाकोमेलेहो जुंगा
अम्वत्तगरि वाठमा ५६ ठाडमालाई जिती - - - पारसावा जुंमारि अम्वत्
भयाको हो श्रीसम्वत् १८६२ सालमा पश्चिमगठ को गडाको काम गर्द कोजी
नेन सिंथाया कासाथ - - - लेपसावनभयोथा वघाटमाला जयिजितिसा हंडुर
कोरुनुराहानभयाको हो सम्वत् १८६३ साल असारमा सोमवार उत्तरफालुनी
नचवकोलाई तगरि वाना कटिपामे निघा यन सितलझियि कु सवेरिका
लोतपयाका ८०० होमा लोतयि - - - लोतेतिदा निघाई वनपदेनदव
नुरासातमे विपसानेदितरि - - - काहर्नभयाको हो ताका पट्टि वाछाहि
रियाकोल जयिजिति दावेरिका लोतययाका ६०० होमा भन्नाएक यनिघाये
लमयेन - - - लोको नडागिजितिसा माल कडाकिधना कागडाह हरहात
भयाको हो माक सिमोलेडको रातवनेत्रकासर बाहु १२ ठ वराई धिसेवमि
को लगरि वाछाकिरस मायना गाववादि वनपदेनको नडि ला १ थोका
लोत १ मारि पाठा माहा लडाया जति काजीरा जीरया पले जमयाए
को जमयापले मुवा यमीय हो पट्टि मागने दोत का केधमा २ पट्टि एले
पट्टि २ माहाराज भदव आकागेयाका २ पट्टि को लम यिजिता - - - लम
को लमको हो मंगलिनतभार हल्ला निजितनका हल्ला पारमाकाका

मंगल भोजि मावतर्दक ४ माह वीरतंतु

पश्चिम नेपालका केही अप्रकाशित अभिलेख

- सूर्यमणि अधिकारी*

पश्चिम नेपालको इतिहासका सामग्रीहरूको प्रकाशनमा योगी नरहरि-
नाथको र प्राध्यापक जसिब टुवीको योगदान महत्त्वपूर्ण रहेको छ । हालका
वर्षहरूमा डा. प्रयागराज शर्मा, रामनिवास पाण्डे, मोहन प्रसाद सनाल,
सत्यमोहन जोशी, टेकबहादुर भेष्ल, देवकान्त पन्थ, पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल,
राजाराम सुवेदी तथा पुरातत्त्वविभागसमेतका प्रयासहरूबाट पश्चिम नेपालको
इतिहासका केही महत्त्वपूर्ण पदाहरू प्रकाशमा आएका छन् । ससराज्यको इति-
हासबारे लेखिएको धनबज्र बज्राचार्यको प्रबन्ध 'कर्णाली प्रदेशको ऐतिहासिक
रूपरेखा' सन्दिग्ध भए पनि तथ्ययुक्त छ । यति भएर पनि पश्चिम नेपा-
लको प्राचीन कालको त कुरा कौडी, मध्यकालिक राजनितिक अवस्थाको इति-
हाससम्मलाई क्रमबद्ध गर्न पनि सामग्रीहरूको न्यूनताले गर्दा धेरै कठिन भइ-
रहेको छ । अर्कोतिर प्रयत्न गरेमा प्रकाशमा ल्याउन सकिने सामग्रीहरू पनि
लोप हुँदै र नष्ट हुँदै गइरहेका छन् । यस कारण सर्वप्रथम ऐतिहासिक साम-
ग्रीहरू संकलन गरी प्रकाशन गर्ने तर्फ सुनियोजित प्रयास हुनुपर्ने देखिन्छ ।

भैले "The Khasa Kingdom of Western Nepal (1207-1404 A. D.)"

भन्ने विषयमा शोधकार्य गरिरहेकोले सो सम्बन्धमा सुदूर पश्चिम नेपालका
अछाम, सुर्खेत, दैलेख, जाजरकोट, कालिकोट, जुम्ला र मुगु जिल्लाहरूमा
गरिएको अध्ययन-प्रमणको क्रममा प्राप्त भएका हालसम्म अप्रकाशित केही

* श्री सूर्यमणि अधिकारी त्रि०वि० का रिसर्च स्कुलर हुनुहुन्छ ।

अभिलेखबाट पनि केही मात्रामा भए पनि थप जानकारी प्राप्त हुनसक्ने देखिएकोले तिनीहरूको संक्षिप्त परिचयसहित यहाँ प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ।

१. सुर्सेतको आसासाहु + रुद्रादेईको शिलालेख

सुर्सेत बीरेन्द्रनगरको खुटा मगनावेशबाट यो शिलालेख प्राप्त भएको रहेछ । हाल यो अभिलेख भएको ठाँगे घरलु उद्योग कार्यालयको प्रांगणमा महाकालको नवनिर्मित मन्दिरको गाहीमा लगाइएको छ । अभिलेख मगना र धेरै अक्षरहरू भेटिईसकेका छन् । बुझ्न सकिने जति अंशको पाठ निम्नानुसार छ ।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. सुरदात्रे ।। फाल्गुनमासि सुकिलपदी
२. तिथी ... बारे ५ भिसाके १२१४ आसासाहु रुद्रादेई
३. देवल

व्याख्या

सुर्सेतको पुरानी नाम सुरदात्रे रहेछ । यहाँ शके १२१४ (१३४६ वि. स.) मा आसासाहु र रुद्रादेईले खुटा देवल निर्माण गराएका रहेछन् भन्ने यस अभिलेखबाट बुझिन्छ । पूर्वमध्यकालमा सुर्सेत उपत्यकामा उज्ज्वस्तरको सम्यता विकसित भएको देखिन्छ । कलात्मक बौद्ध मूर्ति र बुट्टाहरूले युक्त ठूला ठूला शिलाहरू धुप्रिएको काँक्रिबिहारको विशाल मगनावेश तथा बीरेन्द्रनगरमा प्राप्त बुद्ध, भैत्रय, लोकेश्वर, तारा इत्यादिका सुन्दर मूर्तिहरू

अनि पुराना ईटका राशिहरू र अन्य भग्नावशेषहरूका साथै उल्लेखित शिला-
लेखले यस तथ्यको पुष्टि गर्दछन् । कालान्तरमा सुर्खेतको त्यस बसतको विकसित
सम्यता अस्तायो, बाँकी रहे त्यसका अवशेषहरू मात्र ।

२. आदित्यमल्लको ताम्रपत्र

सप्त राजा आदित्यमल्लको यो ताम्रपत्र हाल देखेस जिल्ला कार्यालय-
मा सुरक्षित छ । श्री शके १२४३ (वि.सं. १३७८) आश्विन शुक्ल तृतीया
बृहस्पतिवारका दिन यो ताम्रपत्रको आदेश जारी गरिएको छ । ताम्रपत्रको
पुकारमा शंख, सङ्ग र आदित्यमल्लको क्वाप 'आ' अंकित छ । ताम्रपत्रको
लम्बाइ ३२ से.मि. र चौडाइ २३ से.मि. छ । ताम्रपत्रको सिद्धान्तमा क्षेत्रपट्टि
अलिक्ता भाँचिएकोले एक शब्द लोप छ ।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. स्तिज्ञासमानासितशुमस्थानि । दुर्वारिदोर्दहवृद्धिमसमाक्रान्तदु-
२. दान्तविराटपीठाधिष्ठितप्रतिष्ठितेष्टदेवतापरिचर्यापरायणा/राजसना-
रायणा । रा -
३. जमुजबल्लभलाराजसरस्वतीकंठामरणाराजकोदहविद्याजुनाराजप्रतापमार्त
४. छप्रतिज्ञापुरणोत्तरशुराम । निस्सीमसाहसवीरबेतालबिक्रमादित्यप्रभृति
५. निरुदाबनीबिराजमानपरममहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदादि
६. त्यमल्लदेवः सान्तःपुरःसकुमारः सपरिवारश्चिरं जयतु ॥ राक्षसायमासा ॥
७. पसाकि अक्कि । पम्पोजोडासिकाकान्सावेला । पद्मनाथ । धामु दहुजना ॥
८. ताम्कु जग्घोमाटको आ १ वोहोरा तोला जैसमको आ १ वाहितामाको
आलो १

६. थापाको हुँदो । रति आला सर्वकर अकर दोहोलकरि पसाकि अर्याकु।।
 १०. आदित्यमल्लिक शास्त्रा पसाकर । पम्पोजोहसिकि शास्त्रा मुच दिक्करिकूर्म-
 ११. कुलाचलफणिपतिविधृतापि चलति वसुधयम् । प्रतिपन्नममलमनसा नच-
 १२. लति पुंसा युगान्तेपि ।। १॥ श्री-शाके १२४२ आश्विन शुदि ३ नृहस्पति
 वारे ।

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बिक्रमको बाह्रौं शताब्दीको मध्यतिर बर्तमान जुम्ला जिल्लाको सिन्जालाई राजधानी बनाई सप्त राजा नागराजले पश्चिम नेपालमा सप्त राज्यको स्थापना गरेका थिए^१। नागराजका छैटौं पुस्ताका उत्तराधिकारी राजा क्रावल्लको समयमा विराटपीठ (दुल्लु) ले पनि सप्त राज्यको दोस्रो राजधानीको रूप लिइको थियो^४। सप्त राज्यका ग्रीष्मकालिक राजधानी सिन्जा र शीतकालिक राजधानी दुल्लु थिए । आदित्यमल्लको यस ताम्रपत्रमा राजधानीको रूपमा सिन्जा र विराटपीठ (दुल्लु) दुवैको उल्लेख छ ।

राजा आदित्यमल्ल नागराजका नवौं पुस्ताका उत्तराधिकारी हुन् । यिनका पालामा सप्तहङ्गले दुई पटकसम्म नेपाल-उपत्यकामाथि हमला गरेको कुरा गोपालबंशावलीले उल्लेख गरेको छ^५। आदित्यमल्लको यसै सालको अर्को खट्टा ताम्रपत्र गोरखा नजीकै ताधबाई गुम्बानाट प्राप्त भएको छ^६। यस अनुसार उनले सो गुम्बाको व्यवस्था बाँधी दिएको थिए । यसबाट सप्त राज्यको सीमाना पूर्वमा कमसेकम त्रिशूली नदीसम्म थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ । त्यस समयको नेपाल-उपत्यकामा पनि सप्त राज्यको केही प्रभाव परेको थियो। आदित्यमल्लका बाजे अशोकचल र जिज्यूबाजे क्रावल्लले कुमाउँ-गढवालभित्र

लाई अधीनस्थ गरिका थिए^१। उच्चरमा दक्षिण-पश्चिमी तिब्बत पनि सप्त राज्यको अधीनमा थियो भन्ने कुरा प्राध्यापक जसिष टुवीका सीजहल्बाट अवगत हुन आएको छ^२। यसप्रकार पूर्वमध्यकालमा पश्चिम नेपालको सप्त राज्य पूर्वमा गण्डकीदेखि पश्चिममा सतलजनदीसम्म उच्चरमा जान्नुम् (दक्षिण-पश्चिमी तिब्बत) समेत दक्षिणमा गंगासम्म फैलेको थियो । यो सुटा सानो साम्राज्य नै थियो । यसै विशाल सप्त राज्यका विशिष्ट राजाहरूमध्ये आदित्यमल्ल पनि एक थिए ।

सप्त राजाहरू बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी थिए । आफू बौद्ध धर्म मान्ने मर पनि आदित्यमल्लले विद्वान ब्राह्मण पम्पो जोङ्सी (ज्योतिषी) का कक्षाकोरा पद्मनाम समेतलाई सवै कर नलाग्ने गरी जगादान दिएर कदर गरी यो ताम्रपत्रको आदेश जारी गरिका छन् । हिन्दू राजाहरूले लिने गरिका विश्वावली उनकी नामसँगै विशेषणको रूपमा प्रयोग गरिएका छन् । यसबाट पनि त्यसबसत विद्यमान धार्मिक सहिष्णुता र समादरभाव प्रष्टिन्छ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रको श्रीबेहोरा र पुष्करको बाचा बेहोरा संस्कृत भाषामा मर पनि पेटबोली चाहिँ सिन्जाली भाषामा छ । जसलाई नेपाली भाषाका प्राचीनतम नमूनाहरूमध्ये एक मान्न सकिन्छ ।

३. अक्षम जयगढको यशब्रह्मको शिलालेख

अक्षम जयगढको निम्न माध्यमिक विद्यालय नजीकैको चौतारीमा अहर्वाह राखिएको सुटा ढुंगामा यो अभिलेख अंकित छ । अक्षम जयगढको चौतारीमा अंकित शिलालेखको सुटा व्यहोरा मनी श्री पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल यात्री ले पनि यो अभिलेख प्रकाशित गर्नु भएको छ^३। तर यात्रीजीले पढेको पाठ र वास्तविक पाठमा निकै भिन्नता देखिएकोले यस अभिलेखलाई

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पनि यहाँ समावेश गरिएको छ ।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. ओं मणि पद्मे हूँ
२. महामण्डलेश्वर बुद्ध-
३. लाबतार श्रीयशब्रह्मचरि जयतु ॥ श्रीसाक १२७६॥

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श्री-शाके १२७६ मा अंकित दुल्लु पाथरनाउली अभिलेखअनुसार यशोबर्मा अथवा यशब्रह्म पृथ्वीमल्लका महामात्य (प्रधानमन्त्री) थिए । यिनी निकै प्रभावशाली व्यक्ति थिए । पाथरनाउली अभिलेखमा राजा पृथ्वीमल्लको साथै उनको पनि सम्मानसाथ नामो लेख गरिएकोले यस कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ^० ।

‘महामण्डलेश्वर’ त्यस वसन्तको निशिष्ट भण्डिको सरकारी दर्जा हो । यशोबर्माले केही समय अक्काम-मेककी महामण्डलेश्वर भएर पनि काम गरेका थिए भन्ने यस अभिलेखबाट बुझिन्छ । बुद्धसकालमा पृथ्वीमल्ल धर्मकर्मपट्टि लागेर राजकाजमा ध्यान दिन ढोडका र उनका उच्चाधिकारी अमयमल्ल बालक अथवा कमजोर शासक भएका हुनाले यशोबर्माले सबै राज्यको बागडोर हत्याउने उद्योग गर्न थालेको बुझिन्छ । बर्माणमा पाइएको एउटा ताम्रपत्रमा अमयमल्लले शाके १२६६ मा गरिदिएको जगादानलाई शाके १३१३ मा यशोबर्मा (यशब्रह्म-जसब्रह्म) ले राजाको हेशियतले कायम गरिदिएको पाइएको छ^{११} । पृथ्वीमल्लको मृत्युपछि कर्णाली प्रदेशमा उदाएका शक्तिशाली सामन्तहरू- मल्लबर्मा, मेदिनीबर्मा, संसारबर्मा, सुम्बर्मा आदि यिनै

यशोवर्माका दरसन्तानहक हुन् भन्ने देखिन्छ । अमयमल्लका ताम्रपत्रमा दृष्ट-
सादीका रूपमा रहेका यी व्यक्तिहरू^{१२} पछि सप्त राज्यको विघटन गराई
विभिन्न ठाउँहरूमा गएर स-साना राज्य कायम गर्न सफल भएका देखिन्छन्।
यसको पृष्ठभूमि यशोवर्माले पृथ्वीमल्लको अन्तिम समयदेखि तयार गर्न लागे-
को देखिन्छ । पृथ्वीमल्लका महामात्य र महामण्डलेश्वर बनेका तथा अमय-
मल्लको संरक्षकको हेसियतले राजकाज चलाउने अवसर पाएका यी यशोवर्माले
आफ्नी पारिवारिक स्वार्थको लागि विशाल सप्त राज्यको विघटन गराउन
प्रमुख भूमिका खेलेको अनुमान हुन्छ ।

४. मलयवर्माको ताम्रपत्र

जाजरकोट जिल्लाको हाँडैतोला गाउँका श्रीहरिशर्मा अधिकारीको
घरमा यो ताम्रपत्र पुर्यात छ । स्थानीय जनश्रुति अनुसार मलयवर्माले
जाजरकोट भन्नेमा आई राज्य गर्न लागेपछि उनले जुम्ला सिङ्गिसैनका हरि-
दत्त अधिकारीलाई जाजरकोटमा बोलाई राजज्योतिषी बनाई, ज्ञा विर्ता
दिई बसोबास गराएका थिए र यो ताम्रपत्र त्यसै बसतको हो । यो ताम्र-
पत्र आदेश शक्ति १३११ भाद्र पूर्णिमा बृहस्पतिवारका दिन जारी गरिएको
छ । यसको पुष्कारमा सङ्ग-निशाना अंकित छ ।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. स्वस्ती श्रीसाके १३११ मसे ५ तिथी १५ बारि ५ नक्षत्रे १७ श्री ब्रम्ह्यानि
वित्राको
२. ताम्रपत्र लिखित् श्री श्री श्री माहाराजधीराज देवसुर डेडिमल मलिम्
३. कि माया मैक कालुकवा अनंतमल्ल बसालि दियाको छ सिङ्गिसैन्य हरि-

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दत्त अदिकारि बाहुले पायो

४. मघर डुंगुकी छेत पाणी जग्गा पूब सुम्माड पसिम् रातीमटो उत्तर
धनघाटगाड छेत बीलाको दोभन द-
५. णिन मेलणीली गाँडछेत दानसेनमग्रह दान संकलले पायो इनि चार किला-
भित्रको छ-
६. छ कुड मुड अपुतालि चेल्लि चने उल्लो मेहलो दुबारी साउन्त्य विरोत्य
बदारो सराध्य दैस तियार
७. येति बाहुलि पायो तेष तरफ त्यहाँ हाम्रा सबरि मयाम देठकी साग-
बाट मेजमनिक् दिनु
८. त्य तिमि भित्रका मानिसलाई डोलि डोकी चलाई दिनु साचि छडा
गाउँ सदुजैसि १ कटियाउँ मैसु
९. जैसि मघर फजु राबल रुध थापा मेहेललीलि नदुजैसि जो बर्म दाउदे सो
बाफू घाउदे जो चन्द्र
१०. सुर्जमस सो बर्म दाबले हासिको कागु कागुकी हासि हो त यस ताप्रपत्र
फेरि जा त बंदिय साचि
११. श्री श्री श्री राम राम कृष्ण त्यपत्र माहादेव साची सुम्म ॥ ॥

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मलयबर्मा यशोबर्माका दर सन्तान हुनु पर्छ भन्ने चर्चा माथि महसके-
कोछ । यिनी अमयमल्लको शासि १२६६ को जगादान सम्बन्धी ताप्रपत्र आदि-
शमा दृष्टसाक्षिको रूपमा रहेका देखिन्छन्^{१३} । यसबाट मलयबर्मालि अमयमल्ल-
को दरबारमा महत्त्वपूर्णस्थान ओगटका थिए भन्ने देखिन्छ । सप्त राज्यको
बिघटन गराउनमा मलयबर्माको पनि महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहेको थियो ।

यस ताम्रपत्रमा मलयबर्मालि ब्राह्मणलाई दान दिएको चौत्रलाई ब्रह्म-
निर्ता मनिएको छ । यहाँ जुन जग्गाको चारकित्ता उल्लेख गरिएको छ; सो
जग्गा हालको दैलेख जिल्लाको पूर्वी भेकमा पर्दछ । तीकिएको चारकित्ता मि-
त्रको चौत्रबाट प्राप्त हुने राजस्व पनि दान पाउने व्यक्तिले उपभोग गर्न
पाउने गरी ताम्रपत्र आदेश जारी गरिएको छ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रानुसार मलयबर्मा शाके १३११ मा राजा महसकेका देसिन्छन्।
यसको २ वर्षपछि अर्थात् शाके १३१३ मा अमयमल्लले जारी गरेको ताम्रपत्र
म्याग्दीमा प्राप्त भएको छ^{१४}। मलयबर्माहिले अमयमल्लको राज्य बलात्
अपहरण गरेकाले सम्भवतः अमयमल्ललाई राजधानी छोडी पूर्वतर्फ लाग्न
बाध्य हुनु परेको थियो ।

५. अक्षामी राजा इन्द्रबर्मा र चन्द्रबर्माको संयुक्त ताम्रपत्र

यो ताम्रपत्र अक्षाम रोल कालागाउँका श्री सौन्द्रप्रसाद रेग्मीका
धरमा छ । अक्षामी राजा इन्द्रबर्मा र चन्द्रबर्माबाट शाके १३४० मार्ग शुक्ल
अष्टमी आदित्यनारका दिन यो ताम्रपत्र आदेश जारी गरिएको छ । यसको
पुष्कारमा शंख, चक्र, सह्य र कलशको निशाना अंकित छन् ।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. ओ स्तस्ति अत्रि गीत्रसमुत्पन्नी इन्द्रचन्द्री नृपद्वयो कुलमुख्यरणो धिरौ
पालनौ धर्मण समौ ॥
२. श्री परमभट्टारकपरममाहेश्वर परमगुरु परमदेवी धर्मरता गंगाजलपवित्रपान-
ना

१८४ सि एन ए एस जनल, मोलम ७, नं. १ र २ (डिसि. १९७६ र जुन १९८०)

१. बहुमूषाली चैविता बाबजनकल्लदुम महाराजधिराज श्री इन्द्रवर्मचन्द्रवर्म-
पादानां
४. शिचर जयतु ।। अथास्मिन् श्रीशक्ति १३५० समयी मार्गसिर सुदि अष्टम्या
रविदिने चन्द्रव्रत
५. इन्द्रव्रत दुवे रजवारकी आदेश । सिकोट लाकाहुआका विष्ट मठारि ।
अधिकारि। कार्कि । महसा-
६. रा । बुढाथापा । चढ्याहा रोकाया थापा बुढा । बटलानुढा । कड
पालिप्रजा समुप्रति आलि
७. सिकोटसैनकी बडासितकी बमालिसिरा मामकी आढा ७ तला मामकी
आढा उपला माम-
८. की आढा ५ पसाकि अक्रयाकी । लाका हुआकी रा अधालि १ बाटाआ-
मकि अधालि १ मुलकि । अधालि १
९. की स्याहाकि अधालि १ अकुरालि । रोल बुढ्या रीत्याकि हुदि आलि
१ पियनि मिष्या मुलकि ।।
१०. हुदि एकत्र सने एककरि आलि ४ राम् जोहसि पसामे संकल घालि ताम्र-
सासन कि पसाकि स-
११. बकर अकर सर्व दीण निशुद्ध कि सूर्यग्रहण प्रथमे संकलि पसामे । हिल-
पानि धुल स्याउलि कि गुला-
१२. ला पानिलाई मिजाई जामनेग्मा पिपलकीट पानिलाई मिजाई पसाकि-
याकी धर्मसासनकि
१३. जो दिनु क, अहामिका वस कुवरीको पसागर ।। राम् जोहसिका ।
१४. बेलिकी बेली यी मूमि मूच । यो मूमि जो हला बा हराउला तासकि
मा सुग्रि
१५. बाब गाधहा जो यी धर्मसासन कि प्रतिपाल सी पुण्य पाउ यी उक्ती

दत्ता मूमी माविन पाथिविन्द्रा

१४. मूयी मूयी याचते राममद्रः ।। सामान्यीय दानधर्मी नृपाणाञ्च.....
कालि मवद्मिः । अत्र सा—
१७. दिाणी सूर्यचिन्द्रमसो । ब्रह्मा विष्णु महेश्वरा । मूर्मडलका सादि
मल्लहम् राउल मार्तण्ड सुजान् ब्रह्मरा (उल)
१८. बोहुविष्ट । बोहुमहारि । धिर्महारि । नानिकु महारि मुसुविष्ट
मसु राउत् ।
१९. कालु षड्याहा । जानुब्रह्म षड्याहा बुधुर्बुनर जेतु कुनर जीधाल षड्-
गाहा बुधे सेनुवाल
२०. सुप्राज अधिकारि मानिकु महारि ।

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विक्रमकी पन्थी शताब्दीकी मध्यतिर विशाल सप्तराज्यकी विघटन-
पक्षि पश्चिम नेपालमा बाह्रसे चौबिसे राज्यहरूको उदय भयो । सामान्य तब-
रमा कर्णाली प्रदेशका राज्यहरूलाई बाह्रसे र गण्डकी प्रदेशका राज्यहरूलाई
चौबिसे भनिएको पाइन्छ । बाह्रसे राज्य मध्येको अक्षम सुटा राज्य हो र
यो ताम्रपत्र जारी गर्ने राजा इन्द्रवर्मा र चन्द्रवर्मा अक्षमका राजा हुन् ।
अक्षमकी सीमन्तकी वंशावली अनुसार इन्द्रवर्मा र चन्द्रवर्मा यस राज्यका
संस्थापक देवचन्द्रका क्रमशः ३२ औं र ३३ औं पिढीका राजा हुन् ।^{१५}
यस ताम्रपत्रानुसार यिनीहरूको गोत्र अत्रि रहेको भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

पश्चिम नेपालका यसभन्दा पहिलेका राजाहरूका विहृदावलीमा
ठलेस नआएका परममाहेश्वर भन्ने विशेषण यी राजाहरूको नामसँग लागे-
कोले यतातर्फ शैव मतको प्रभाव बिस्तार हुन लागेको देखिन्छ । बौद्धधर्मको

१८६ सि एन ए एस जनरल, मोलम ७, नं. १ र २ (डिसि. १९७६ र जुन १९८०)

कुनै लक्षण यस ताम्रपत्रमा विद्यमान छैन । अर्को कुरा- सोमवंशको वंशानुली-
अनुसार चन्द्रबर्माको छोरा मलयबर्मा हुन् । यहाँ मलयबर्माको नाउँसँगै 'राउल'
भन्ने शब्द आएकोले राउल अथवा राउला राजपुत्रको पर्यायवाची शब्द रहेको
भन्ने देखिन्छ (यी मलयबर्मा अघिल्लो ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लेखित जुम्ला अथवा
जाजरकोटका होइनन्, यिनी अक्षामी मलयबर्मा हुन् जसका बाबु सम्भवतः
चन्द्रबर्मा थिए) ।

यस ताम्रबाट अक्षाम जस्तो सानो राज्यमा पनि त्यस बसत दुईजना
राजाहरूको संयुक्त शासन चलेको देखिन्छ । यसले सगराज्यको पतन पछि
पश्चिम नेपालमा शुरू भएको राजनैतिक अव्यवस्थाको परिचय दिन्छ । त्यति
मात्र होइन- बाइसे राज्यकालमा अक्षाम राज्य अनेकौं उपराज्यहरूमा पनि
विभाजित थियो । यिनीहरूमा दर्ना, बिमकोट, धुपकोट, तडिगैहा मुख्य
थिए । यी उपराज्यका रजवारहरू आफ्नी दोत्रको प्रशासन चलाउँथे,
न्याय निसाफको कार्य गर्दथे र रैतीहरूबाट अनेकौं प्रकारका रकमहरू असुल
गरी लिन्थे । यी रजौटाहरू एक आपसमा लड्छन् गरी रहन्थे । यस युगमा
पश्चिम नेपालमा प्रायः यही हालत थियो ।

६. कल्याल राजा मानशाहीका दुई आदेश

मुगु जिल्लाको सदरमुकाम गमगढीमा पुगेपछि दोल्फु गुम्बामा
पुरानो ताम्रपत्र छ भन्ने सुनियो । बाटो सम्बन्धमा सोध्नुक गदा गमगढी-
बाट मुगुकुनालीको किनारै किनार तीन दिनको बाटो हिँडे पछि दोल्फु
गाउँमा पुग्नु सकिन्छ भन्ने थाहा भयो । नजार्छ भने महत्त्वपूर्ण सामग्री छ र
कुट्छ कि भन्ने भयो, जाऊ भने बाटो अतिविपिक छ, भीर छ, लहरामा
समातेर पाइला चाल्नुपर्छ, सुट्टा चिप्लियो भने ३-४ हजार फीट तल बगि-

रहेको कनालीमा रैकोटिमा पुगिन्छ मन्ने सुन्दा ज्यान जान्छ कि मन्ने ढर
पनि लाग्यो । जे होस, मानिस हिँडेने गरि बाटो त हो नि जानिपर्छ मन्ने
हिम्मत गर । मुगुकनालीको किनार किनार अनन्तर जल र कहालिलाग्दी
भीरको बाटो पार गरि पछि किम् मन्ने गाउँ पुगियो । किम् गाउँका श्रीलोक-
चनलामाको सहयोगबाट दोल्फू गुम्बामा भएको राजा मानशाहीका दुईबटा
आदेश र दोल्फू गाउँका कान्छीलामाका घरमा भएको बहादुर शाहीको खुटा
ताम्रपत्रको प्रतिलिपि उचार गर्न सकियो ।

मानशाहीका यी दुई आदेश माड लगाएर बाक्ली बनाइएको
कागजमा लेखिएका छन् । पट्टाएर राखिएको सो कागजको छेउ केही टुटेको
हुँदा पुरा अभिलेख पढ्न सकिँदैन । जे जति पढ्न सकिँएको छ, सोको पाठ यस
प्रकार छ ।

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. ओं स्वस्ति श्री शाके १४८६ कार्तिकमासि दिनाङ्कता २१ (सो)
२. मनासरे किनासिम (स्था)ने माहाराजकि निधा पाई रि ल.....
३. ले मयाचितेक ये.... मानशाहेले मया मैक दोल्फू.....
४. शिरा बुढाबुढा..... मया मैक लधा नदिनुमा.....
५. लनु कमारि नार्नु बैठ बाउला नलाउनु कटक कु.....
६. लाउनु किली नजानु अपुतालो नकाडनु दोष.....
७. शिराबुढाका हात कि पत्र शादिा शालिबान राउल् हितु (राउ)
८. ला वशुदाणर जोह(शि) दाशराज् शारुपु मढारि मागाप.....
९. बुक धानाशुनको धरा पढ पत्र शादिा राम धराला दुहुमाद (रा)
१०. नशार् कठाइत् लिखित शादिा वर पाथा ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

उही कागजमा यस अभिलेखको एक हन्वतलवाट अर्को व्यहोरा
लेखिएको छ । त्यसको पाठ यस प्रकार छ -

अभिलेखको पाठ

१. ओं स्वस्ति ॥ श्री शाके १४८६ कार्तिकमासे किनासिम स्था(ने.अ)
२. स्टम्प्यां तिथौ मानशाह कि मयामे गलव्या माथिको ति -----
३. धिं जो पदिका पाउदा ----- मेटि मयामेक दोलप्याल् वा -----
४. हा घापुतालगु मयामेक जो पदि कैले उल्टो गर धानाशु(न)
५. को धारोपत्रशादिा शालिबान राउल रामधराला शारुपुम (डा)
६. रि शनशार् कठाइत् (वशु)दाणर जोशरी लिखित शादिा वर
(पाथा)

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योगी नरहरिनाथले राजा मानशाहीका शाके १४५१ देखि र १५०७ सम्मका चारवटा अभिलेखहरू प्रकाशित गर्नुभएकोछ^{१६}। शाके १४८५ को मानशाहीको अभिलेखमा उनको राजधानी बिनासिम (जुम्ला सलीमा नजिक) लेखिएकोछ । त्यसपछिका शाके १४९७ र १५०७ का उनका अभिलेखमा राजधानी तिपुरकोट (तित्रिकोट) लेखिएकोछ । मानशाहीके समय (१४५१-१५०७ शाके) मित्र पर्न उल्लेखित दुई अभिलेखमा राजा मानशाहीको राजधानी बिनासिम उल्लेख भएकोछ । संभवतः मानशाही र मानशाही दाजु भाइ थिए। शाके १४८५ पछि मानशाही तित्रिकोटमा गएर राज्य गर्न लागे भने मानशाहीले जुम्लामा रजाई गरे । मानशाही र मानशाही सट्टै व्यक्ति होइनन् । जुम्लाका कल्यालक्षी राजा मानशाहीका अभिलेख अहिलेसम्म प्राप्त भएका थिएनन् । यी दुई अभिलेखबाट राजा मानशाहीको ऐतिहासिकता प्रमाणित हुन आएको छ^{१७}। दोल्फू गाउँका शिराबुडा भन्ने व्यक्तिले मानशाहीको सेवा गरी विभिन्न सहुलियतहरू प्राप्त गरेको कुरा यी दुई अभिलेखबाट ज्ञात हुन आउँछ ।

७) कल्यालराजा बहादुरशाहीको ताम्रपत्र

यी ताम्रपत्र मुगु दोल्फू गाउँका कांथीलामाको घरमा सुरक्षित छ । जुम्ला राज्यका कल्यालक्षी राजा बहादुरशाहीले शाके १५५८ ज्येष्ठ ७ गते बुधवारका दिन यी ताम्रपत्र-आदेश जारी गरेका छन् । ताम्रपत्रको लम्बाइ २४ से. मि. र चौडाइ १३ से. मि. छ ।

अभिलेखी पाठ

१. ओं स्वस्ति । श्री शाके १५५८ जेष्ठ मासि । दिनांता ७ शुक्ल पक्षा
उचरफा -
२. लुनि नदात्रि । दशम्या तिथी । बुधवासरे । किनासिम रजस्थानि बादुर
३. शाह कि मया पलुशिरा । ल्हारु रोकाया । पात्र गाउत्या उपर मय
राजी
४. मैक । दीर्प्फांरु शनु उपर बाहादुर शाहकि देउमताज्यु पायकि म
५. यामैक । जो रेण बिजेराजले मया ग-यो थियो उई रेण उजारि पुरा-
ना कथा न-
६. नाता नागरि मया मैक । नाक क्वाडि बैक पाजुन रेण आधिन ।
कतिशि नतिशि
७. मोड अपुतालि । काटो जगटो । लो । जो प्याशाउ । बाइ पाउनु
आधिन । रेण पाको
८. मय गत्यो षानुक् । डाला धापी थ शघा गर्नुनाई । बोइहोपट्टिक
शारुकीका धा-
९. नि २४ गन् शेर ५ ठिटुना शेर १० येति पाउनुक् । दात् टारु शकृका
मैटि मया मै
१०. क । शिराको बिभाग मागाको मैटि मयामैक । शिम्णाइमा दुल्ल
जोइशि माधु जोइ -
११. शि । पुइ जोइशि टटु जोइशि । हुनु ब्राह्म गरि मयामैक । पत्र शाहि
हित् पारु
१२. थिमल राजा । निष्ट जशमहत्र । अमृतु महत्र महारि कीटु माट ।
परताप् रा -

१६० सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ७, नं. १ र २ (डिसि. १६७६ र जुन १६८०)

१३. उत्त । राकु मडारि । शराइ कठाइत्त । मानिकु धराला । लिणित
शाकि जैराज जो

१४. इशि ॥ शुभ ॥ किनाल जश्या टुमोटो नोदूत्या टुमोटो ॥ ॥

व्याख्या

कत्याल बंशकी बंशावलीमा बहादुरशाहीलाई बिक्रमशाहीका पुत्र र वीरमद्वशाहीका पिता मनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ^{१८}। बंशावली बाहिक बहादुरशाहीको ऐतिहासिकता सिद्ध गर्ने अरु कुनै प्रमाण अहिलेसम्म प्राप्त भएको थिएन । बिक्रमशाहीको अन्तिम ताम्रपत्र शाके १५५३ को र वीरमद्वशाहीको पहिलो ताम्रपत्र शाके १५६१ को प्राप्त भएकोले^{१९} र बीचमा बहादुरशाहीको यो शाके १५५८ को ताम्रपत्र प्राप्त भएको हुँदा बंशावलीको कथन सत्य देखिन आएको छ ।

यस ताम्रपत्रानुसार दोल्फूका केही प्रमुख निवासीहरूलाई आफूना पूर्वज बिजिराजले जुन सहुलियत दिएका थिए, सोही सहुलियतलाई बहादुरशाहीले नवीकरण गरी दिएको छन् । यसबाट बंशावलीबाहिक अरु प्रमाणबाट अहिलेसम्म सिद्ध हुन नसकेको बिजिराजको अस्तित्व पनि सिद्ध भएको छ ।

दोल्फूगाउँ पुग्न किनासिमबाट पाँच दिन लाग्छ । यो गाउँ हिमाली भेकको दुर्गम स्थलमा अवस्थित छ । यस्तो ठाउँका जनतालाई दण्डको भय देखाई कज्याउनु मुस्किल पर्ने हुँदा त्यहाँका प्रमुख व्यक्तिहरूलाई केही सहुलियत दिई आफ्नो पक्षमा पारी कज्याउनु सजिलो पर्ने भएकोले साम र दामको नीति अनुसरण गरिएको दृष्टान्त यस ताम्रपत्रले प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

टिप्पणीहरू

१. संख्या १ देखि ५ सम्मका अभिलेखहरू भरी अप्रकाशित शोधकृति "The
Khasa Kingdom of Western Nepal(1207-1404A.D.)" को परिशिष्टाशि-
वाट उद्धृत गरिएका हुन् ।
२. प्रयागराज शर्मा, प्रिलिमिनरी स्टडिज अफ दि आर्ट एण्ड आर्किटेक्चर
अफ द कर्णाली बेसिन्, बेष्ट नेपाल (परिसःसि. एन. आर. एस्. १९७२ई)
पृ. २८ ।
३. ऐंजेन पृ. १७, योगी नरहरिनाथ, इतिहास प्रकाश भाग २, अंक १
(काठमाडौं: इतिहास प्रकाशक संघ, बि.सं. २०१३), पृ. ५६ ।
४. एडविन् टि. स्टकिन्सन, कुमाउँ हिस्स (दिल्ली: कस्मो पब्लिकेशन, ई.सं.
१९७४ मा पुनर्मुद्रित) पृ. ५१८ ।
५. गोपाल बंशानली पृ. ४६, ४७ ।
६. मोहन प्रसाद सनाल, मध्यकालीन अभिलेख (काठमाडौं: बि.सं. २०३०)
पृ. २ ।
७. एडविन् टि. स्टकिन्सन, पूर्ववत्, , पृ. ५११-८ ।
८. जिसेप टूची, प्रिलिमिनरी रिपोर्ट अन् टु साइन्टिफिक एक्सप्लिडिशन इन्
नेपाल (रोम: आइ. एम. इ. ओ., १९५६ ई) पृ. १२६ ।
९. पूर्ण प्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री', सेतीकात्तारा (बिराटनगर: हिमाली
सौगात प्रकाशन, बि.सं. २०३४) पृ. ५४ ।
१०. योगी नरहरिनाथ, पूर्ववत् पृ. ४६ ।
११. राजाराम सुवेदी, 'बर्माइन्का बाह्र अभिलेख', कन्ट्रिब्युशन टु
नेपालिज् स्टडिज्, मोलेम ६, संख्या २ (काठमाडौं नेपाल र एसियाली
अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, असार २०३६) पृ. ६१-६२ ।

१६२ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ७, नं. १ र २ (डिसि. १९७६ र जुन १९८०)

१२. रेजन पृ. ६१, ६२, ६३, पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल 'यात्री', पूर्ववत्
पृ. २४६-७। श्री राजाराम सुवेदीले बफ्ताडोमा प्राप्त अभयमल्लको
अभिलेखको मलाई दिनु भएको प्रतिलिपिमा मलयबर्माको पनि नाउ
उल्लेख छ । तर सो नाम उहलि उल्लेखित जर्नलमा प्रकाशन गर्नु भएको
अभिलेख नं. २ मा कुटेको देखिन्छ ।

१३. रेजन

१४. मोहन प्रसाद सनाल, पूर्ववत्, पृ. १७, १८ ।

१५. अकाम सोमवंशको वंशावलीको मसँग भएको प्रतिलिपिमा इन्द्रबर्मा र
चन्द्रबर्मालाई देवचन्द्रका क्रमशः ३२ औं र ३३ औं पिढीका राजा
भनी उल्लेख गरिएको छ ।

१६. योगी नरहरिनाथ, पूर्ववत्, पृ. १२२- ५ ।

१७. शाकि सन्त १४६५ मा मानसाहीको राज्यकालमा जुम्लामा लेखिएको एक
हस्त लिखित ग्रन्थ भने प्राप्त भएको छ ।

तुलसीराम वैद्य र धनबज्र बज्राचार्य, 'गोरखाको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री'
(काठमाडौं, नेपाल अध्ययन संस्थान, बि.सं. २०२६) पृ. ३३ ।

१८. सत्यमोहन जोशी, कर्णाली लोक संस्कृति सण्ड १, इतिहास (काठमाडौं
नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, बि.सं. २०२८) पृ. १२३ ।

१९. योगी नरहरिनाथ, पूर्ववत्, पृ. १३८ ।

मल्लकरको परिभाषा

ज्ञानमणि नेपाल

विक्रमको केटी शताब्दीदेखि नवीं शताब्दीसम्मका दुई शय जति ढुंगाहरूले नेपालको प्राचीनकालको इतिहास प्रकट गरिरहेका छन् । तिनी ढुंगाबाट नेपालको राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक र ऐतिहासिक कुरा कौट्याउनुपर्दछ । ती ढुंगाका अभिलेख कौट्याउँदा कति परिभाषिक शब्दको समुचित अर्थ नसुल्लिख्न अनर्थ पनि पर्न गइरहेको छ । यस्तै शब्दमा 'मल्लकर' पनि पर्न आएको छ ।

लिच्छविकालमा दुनियाँदारबाट उत्पादित वस्तुमा धेरै थरि कर लगाइका थिए । ती करहरूमा नगद, जिन्स दुवै थरिका थिए । त्रिकर चाहिँ मुख्य थिए । जग्गामा आयस्ताका अनुपातमा तिरो तिर्नु पर्दथ्यो । कृषिमा, गौठामा, व्यापारमा लगाइका मुख्य कर त्रिकर कहलाएका थिए^१ । ठूलो ठूलो जिन्समा मात्रै होइन, साधारण तरकारी, लसुन, प्याज समेतमा कर लागेको देखिन्छ^२ । सुगुर, कुसुरा, माछाहरूको प्रसङ्गमा मल्ल मल्लपीतको पनि उल्लेख पाइएको छ^३ । यसकारण सुगुर कुसुरामा जस्तै मल्ल मल्लपीतमा पनि कर लागेको देखिन्छ ।

लिच्छविकालमा अभिलेखको अनुशीलन गर्ने फ्रान्सीसी विद्वान् सिल्वेष्ट्र लैवीले मल्लकरको अर्थ गर्दा मानदेवसँग युद्ध गर्ने पश्चिम नेपाल (मलेबुङ्ग) का मल्ल सामन्तको सम्मन्ना गरी तिनी मल्ल सामन्तको आक्रमणबाट देशलाई बचाउन लगाइएको कर मल्लकर हो^४ भन्ने गरेका थिए । यो कर मल्ल सामन्तलाई बुझाउन वा देशको रक्षा गर्न सर्व गर्दथ्यो भन्ने यो लेवीको कल्प-

नालाई पक्का देशी स्वदेशी धेरै विद्वान्हरूले अनुसरण गर्दै आएका छन् ।

बालचन्द्र शर्मा ले मल्लकरलाई गहङ्गालाई राजा गोविन्दचन्द्रको अभिलेखमा देखिएको 'तुरु' दण्ड ' जस्तै मानी शत्रुको मुकाविलाबाट बच्न कहिले काहीँ जनतामा लाइने कर थियो भन्ने अनुमान गरेका छन्^५।

दिल्लीरमण रेग्मीले मल्लकर राज्यको सुरक्षाका लागि सधैं मरि लाइने कर थियो भनी लेख्नुभएको छ^६। फेरि उहाँले नै अर्का ठाउँमा चाहि बेपार गर्न आउने मल्लहरूको पेशामा यी कर लाइएको थियो भनी लेख्नु भएको छ^७। यसरी रेग्मीजीले दुई ठाउँमा दुईटा विचार व्यक्त गरे पनि यी कर मल्ल जातका मानिससँग सम्बन्ध गराउन सोजिकी स्पष्ट छ ।

हितनारायण फाले मल्लकरको अर्थ नयाँ ठाउँ जित्न वा विदेशी आक्रमणबाट बच्न वा भित्री विद्रोह दबाउनका लागि कहिले काहीँ लाइने कर थियो भन्ने गर्नुभएको छ^८।

सप्तम शताब्दीका नेपालका कतिपय अभिलेखहरूबाट उहाँका राजा-हरूले मल्लकर नामक सउटा कर समेत उठाउने गरेको कुरा चाल पाइएको छ । मल्लहरूका आक्रमणबाट देशको रक्षा गर्न यी कर उठाइएको होला ' भनी सूर्य विक्रम ज्ञवालीले पनि यी परम्परागत मतलाई स्वीकार्नुभएको छ^९।

मानदेवका पालादेखि पश्चिम नेपालका मल्ल सामन्त केन्द्रका लिच्छवि शासकका अधीन थिए । तिनले लिच्छवि राजालाई कर तिर्दथे । त्यही कर मल्लकर हो^{१०} भन्ने अर्थ ढुण्डिराज मण्डारीज्यूले गर्नुभएको छ ।

यसरी अनेक इतिहासकार विद्वान्हरूले यी मल्लकरलाई जताबाट भए पनि पश्चिम नेपालका मल्ल जातका मानिससँग सम्बन्ध देखाउन सोजिका

हन् । मल्लहरूको आक्रमणबाट बच्न जनताबाट उठाइने कर भने पनि मल्ल राजाहरू तिर्ने कर भने पनि मल्ल सामन्तहरूबाट लिने तिरो भने पनि यी कर तिर्ने मल्लहरूका मल्लका आधारबाट उत्पत्ति भएको भन्ने यी सबै इतिहासकारको आन्तरिक अभिप्राय बुझिन्छ ।

परन्तु प्राचीन नेपालको इतिहासमा लिच्छवि र मल्लको यति लामो संघर्ष भएको कुनै प्रमाण छैन । वि.सं. ५२२ भन्दा पहिले मल्लपुरका सामन्तलाई मानदेवले कज्याएका थिए । तिनले पक्कै मानदेवलाई सिर्तो तिरका थिए । तिनको आक्रमण उपत्यकामा भयो वा तिनलाई केन्द्रबाट कर तिर्नु परेको पनि भन्न सकिदैन । पछि तेही चौधौं शताब्दीमा पश्चिमका सेन्जाली सश राजाहरूले तथा दक्षिणका सिम्रौन्गले राजाहरूले पनि उपत्यकामा आक्रमण गरी तहसनहस पार्दा त्यहाँका राजाले प्रजाबाट रकम उठाई ती राजाहरूलाई बुझाई पठाएका उदाहरण भने इतिहासमा पाइएका छन्^{११} । परन्तु यस्तै रूपले लिच्छवि कालमा पनि लिच्छवि मल्लको अनवरत संघर्ष जारी थियो भन्न कसरी सकिन्छ ? ।

साच्चै निरूपण गरेर विचार गर्ने हो भने मानदेवसँग टक्कर लिने पश्चिमका सामन्त मल्लै थिए भन्ने प्रमाण पनि छैन । मानदेवको अमिल्लेमा गण्डकी पारीका सामन्तको दुश्चरित्र सुनेर मामालाई साथ लिएर मानदेवले गण्डकी तीरर दुई तिरबाट आक्रमण गरेर मल्लपुरी जिते भन्ने उल्लेख मात्र पाइन्छ । मल्लपुरीमा मल्लकै शासन थियो भन्न पनि गाह्रो छ । किन भने प्रजाहरू मल्ल जातका भएर राजा अर्कै थरका पनि हुन सक्छन् । मल्लै बसाएको वा मल्लहरूको आवादी भएको शहर मल्लपुरीका नामले प्रख्यात हुनु सम्भव छ । राजा मल्ल नै हुनु पनि केही जरुरी छैन । जस्तो उपत्यकामा त्यस बेला राजा लिच्छविवंशी थिए । त्यहाँका शहरको नाम कौलीग्राम

थियो । वृजिकरध्या थियो । परन्तु यहाँका राजा नकीली थिए नवृजिक थिए मन्न सकिन्छ । राजा लिच्छविवंशी नै थिए ।

परन्तु यो विषय इतिहासमा मान्यता प्राप्त भइरहेको छ । हामी सबैले एकै मुसल मल्लपुरीमा मल्ल राजा थिए मन्न कुरा गरिरासिका छौं र कसैले यसमा विप्रतिपत्ति उठाएको पनि छैन, उठाउने आधार पनि अहिलेसम्म फेला परेको छैन । यो कुराको साथै मानदेवपक्षि मल्ल सामन्तहरूसँग कुनै संघर्ष भएको कुनै युद्ध वा आक्रमण प्रत्याक्रमण भएको तिनसँगै कर लिएको वा तिरको कुनै संकेत-सम्पन्न पाइएको छैन, यो पनि मन्नै पर्छ । यस्तो अवस्थामा केटी शताब्दीका पश्चिम नेपालका सम्भावित मल्लसँग सम्बन्ध पारेर यो मल्लहरूको व्युत्पत्ति गर्न सोज्नु कतिसम्म समुचित होला ।

यो लेखी परम्पराको अर्थलाई छोडेर अर्कै तरिकाबाट मल्लहरू-परिमाणा गर्ने प्रयत्न पनि केही इतिहासकारले गरेका छन् । यसमा मार-तीय विद्वान् दीनेशचन्द्र सरकारले यो मल्लहरू पहलमानीसँग सम्बन्ध भएको कर ही मन्नै सम्भावना व्यक्त गर्नु भएकोछ^{१२} । यसको अनुसरण गरी केही इतिहासकारहरूले पनि मल्लहरूको अर्थ यस्तै मानेका छन् । प्रशिद्ध इतिहास-विद् बाबुराम आचार्यको विचारमा 'मल्ल युद्ध' गर्ने संस्थासँग उठाइएको कर यो थियो^{१३} ।

शिवदेव + अशुवमाकी लेलेको अभिलेखमा मल्लयुद्ध गोष्ठीको उल्लेख पाइन्छ । लिच्छविकालमा मल्लयुद्ध सार्वजनिक मनीरन्जनको अतिप्रचलित खेल थियो । धानकोटको भीमार्जुनदेव र जिष्णुगुप्तको शिलालेखमा गौयुद्ध (साँढे जुधाउने) उत्सव समारोह संचालन गर्न गाउँलेहरूबाट कर उठाइन्थ्यो । त्यस्तै मल्ल युद्ध (कुस्ती खेल्ने) को उत्सव संचालन गर्न गाउँलेहरूबाट कर उठाइन्थ्यो भन्ने यो विचार तुलसीराम वैद्यले प्रकट गर्नुभएको छ^{१४} ।

लिच्छविकालकी अभिलेखमा धनवज्र वज्राचार्यले मल्ल करको विषयमा आफूनी एक अनुमान व्यक्त गर्नु भएको छ । ^{१५} मल्लको उल्लेख सुगुर कुसुरा सँग आएको छ । यसबाट कुसुरा सुगुरहरू जस्तै ^{१६} मल्ल ^{१७} पनि पाल्नु प्राणी विशेष हो भन्ने स्पष्ट थाहा पाइन्छ । बुद्धमतीको अभिलेखबाट त यो अझ स्पष्ट हुन्छ । त्यहाँ कुक्कुट, सूकर मत्स्य जस्तै मल्लपीतलाई राम्ररी हेरचाह गरेर उत्पादन बढाएको हुनाले अशुवर्माले सुशी प्रकट गरेको कुरा प्रकट गरेको छ । यसकारण मल्ल पाल्नु प्राणी विशेष हो भन्ने कति पनि शंका छैन । यिनमा लागेको कर मल्लकर हो ^{१८} ।

^{१९} पीतः पाकीर्मको डिम्बः पृथुकः शावकः शिशुः २।५।२८ अमरको-
णकी यस वचन अनुसार ^{२०} पीतः ^{२१} भनेको बच्चा हो भन्ने निश्चित छ ।
(कुन इतिहासकारले ^{२२} पीत ^{२३} पनि कर विशेष हो भनी लेखेका छन् । तर
यसमा सार छैन) यसबाट मल्ल कर पहल्लामानी सम्बन्धी कर होइन भन्ने
स्पष्ट बुझिन्छ । किनभने पहल्लामानी बच्चामा समेत कर लाग्ने कुरा कुन
हालतमा भिल्ले देखिदैन ^{२४} ।

^{२५} यसबाट कुक्कुट सूकरहरू मन्दा मल्ल ठूली जातिको प्राणी हो
भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । नेवारी भाषामा रागीको एकथरी जातलाई ^{२६} मल्ल ^{२७}
भनी अहिलेसम्म भनिन्छ । यसकारण मल्लकर रागीमा लागेको कर हो कि
भन्ने मलाई लागेको छ ^{२८} ।

मल्लको मल्लपीतकरको अर्थ यस्ती कल्पना गरेर मल्ल-युद्ध-गोष्ठी
चाहिँ दुनियाँको मनोरञ्जनका लागि पहल्लामानी कुस्ती खेल थियो भन्ने
उहाँको भनाइ रहेको छ ^{२९} ।

मल्ल- रागी, मल्लपीत - रागीको वच्चा मन्ने अनुमानसम्म धनवज्र वज्राचार्यले गर्नु मस्कीमा जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मीले ^{१५} हाल एकजना नेपाली विद्वान्नी मल्लकरलाई रागी वा यस्तै पशुहस्मा लाग्ने कर मनी निश्चित जस्तो गरी दिस्कीले यस शब्दको राजनीतिक स्वरूप यस विलासर गस्की छ ^{१६} मनी मल्लकर मनीको रागीमा लाग्ने कर मन्ने कुरा निश्चित मान्नुमस्की छ ^{१७}।

यस अतिरिक्त मल्ल करलाई राजनीतिक रूपमा नहेरी आर्थिक दृष्टिकोणले विचार गरिस्की देवीचन्द्र भेष्ठको ^{१८} आर्थिक तथा राजनैतिक परिप्रक्ष्यमा मल्लकर ^{१९} मन्ने अर्को निबन्ध देख्न पाइस्की छ । त्यस निबन्धमा धेरैजसो पूर्ववर्ती इतिहासकारहरूको विचारहरूलाई उल्लेख गरी ती सबैलाई असही ठहराई आफ्नो मत प्रकट गरिस्की छ । त्यस निबन्धमा विशेष मल्लकर मनीको रागी हो कि? मन्ने धनवज्र वज्राचार्यको विचारको आलोचना गर्दै यस्तो लेखिस्की छ- ^{२०} मल्ल म ^{२१} को अर्थ मधेश रागी हो । मल्लबाट मल्ल बनेको होइन । मध्यदेश- मधेश- मदेश- मरेश हुँदै जाँदा नेवारीमा झोटकरी उच्चारण हुँदा मरि मस्की र र को ल हुँदा ^{२२} मल्लि ^{२३} मस्की हो । मल्लले रागी बुझाउँदैन । मल्लकर रागीमा लागेको कर मान्न नसकिने कुरा पनि गरिस्की छ ^{२४}।

मल्लको धेरै अर्थमा खुटा अर्थ मत्स्य भेद हो मन्ने कुरा पुराना संस्कृत कोषहरूमा पाइन्छ । ^{२५} मल्लः पात्रि कपीले च मत्स्यभेदे वलीयसि ^{२६} भेदिनीकोषको यस वाक्यको आधारमा पक्षिका कोषकारहरूले मल्लको अर्थ दिस्का छन् । मल्ल शब्द मत्स्य विशेषलाई पनि बुझाउँने देखेर देवीचन्द्र भेष्ठले मत्स्य विशेषमा लागेको कर मल्लकर हो, मल्ल करकै अर्को रूप मल्लपीतकर हो मनी हँचुवा अर्थ गरेर यसलाई दुगामा पुर्‍याउन खोजेको छ । मल्लपीतकर मल्लकर मल्लयुद्धगीष्ठीको कुनै चिच बुझ्नुको विवेचना त्यस लेखमा गरिस्की पनि छैन ।

यतिवाट यी विषय ठुगी लागेकी जस्तो लागेन । चित्त बुझ्दो
उत्तर यी माथिका कुन व्याख्यामा पाइएन । कुन चीजको व्याख्या हुँदा
सन्देह रहनु हुँदैन । प्रसङ्ग० मिल्नु पर्दछ । अव्याप्ति अतिव्याप्ति दोष
पनि हुनु हुँदैन र शास्त्रसम्मत लोकसम्मत पनि हुनु पर्दछ । मल्लकरको अर्थले
भरी मनलाई विचलित नपारेकी होइन । मल्लको अर्थ माझी मन्ने कोणमा
देख्दा यसको ठीक अर्थ सुत्योकि जस्तो लाग्नु स्वाभाविक हो । माझाको
बेपार नेपालमा प्रशस्त चलेको छ । यी व्यवसाय प्राचीनकालदेखि नै नेपालमा
मनवरतरूपमा चलिआएको हो । शिवदेवको चापागाउँको शिलालेखमा ^१ स्थ-
१६० ^२ मा विभिन्न किसिमका माझाका भारीमा बेग्ला बेग्लै शुल्क लाग्ने
को वर्णन परेको छ^{१६} । यसबाट पनि लिच्छविकालमा माझाको व्यवसाय
प्रशस्त चलेको थियो मन्ने कुरामा सन्देह छैन । यस आधारमा ठूला माझामा
लागेको कर मल्लकर मुरा माझामा लागेको कर मल्लपीतकर रहेछ , नेपालमा
आजमौलि जस्तै प्राचीन कालमा पनि सिध्राको चलन चल्ती बढी नै रहेछ र
यही सिध्रा व्यापारमा लागेको कर मल्लपीतकर हो कि ^३ मन्ने कुरा एक-
पल्ट भरी मनमा पनि नसलेको होइन । परन्तु यी अर्थले यहाँ प्रसङ्ग० नमिले
हुँदा यसको लिखित व्याख्या भैले व्यक्त गर्न सकिन । मैदिनी-कोणको त्यही
वाक्यको आधारमा नै हाले देवीचन्द्र भण्डेली यी निबन्ध पेश गरिहाल्नु मर-
कोले यस-बारेमा आफूले जानि- बुझेको व्याख्या प्रस्तुत गर्न उचित लागेकोले
यी लेख विद्वान् पाठकका सामु उपस्थित गर्ने लागेकोछु ।

लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखमा मल्लकर मल्लपीतकर कहाँ कसरी लिने
कहाँ कसरी छाड्ने वा कम गर्ने कुरा परेको छ । सो सबै प्रसङ्ग० मिलेर
हेरिसकेपछि मल्लको शाब्दिक अर्थतिर ध्यान दिनु उचित होला । विष्णु
पादुकाफेदीको शिवदेवको वि.स. ६४७ को शिलालेखमा थन्तुम्रीद्रङ्गा
बासिन्दाहरूले यी मन्दा पहिले मल्लकरमा बढी पैसा तिरिरहेकोमा ^४ अब

उप्रान्त १ काष्ठापिण अथात् १६ पणदिसि बढता तिर्नु पर्दैन ^{२०}मनिस्को
 ६^{२०}। शिवदेव अशुवमाकी धरमपुरको वि.सं. ६५५ को शिलालेखमा ^{२१}मल्ल-
 कर चारपणदिसि बैशी नलिनू ^{२२}मन्ने गरिएको ६^{२१}। ८ वर्ष अगाडि त्यही
 नजीकै पासको धुन्तुम्रीद्रङ्गका बासिन्दाबाट मने १६ पण मल्लकर लिन र
 ८ वर्ष पछि धर्मपुरबाट चाहिँ चारपण मात्र मल्लकर लिन व्यवस्था गरि-
 स्को बुझिन्छ । कैलासकूट भवनबाट प्रसारित अशुवमाकी वटुटोलीको शिला-
 लेखमा मल्लपीतकर र सुकरकर (सुकुरमा लागेको कर) मिनाहा वा कम गरेको
 कुरा परेको ६^{२२}।

थानकोटको भीमार्जुनदेव र जिष्णुगुप्तको वि.सं. ६६० को शिला-
 लेखमा जिष्णुगुप्तका जेठा बराज्यू (प्रपितामह) मान्गुप्तले पोखरी सनाएर
 त्यसमा जग्गा गुठी राखेर कपडामा लागेको तिरो मिनाहा गरेका थिए ।
 पछि सरकार लागेर त्यो व्यवस्था भङ्ग भइरहेको थियो । पनाति जिष्णु-
 गुप्तले बराज्यूको कीर्ति धामिदिन फेरि जग्गा गुठी राखे । धेन्दी गाउँका
 बासिन्दाहरूलाई धेरै किसिमका करमा कटौती पनि गरिदिए । ददिाण-
 कोली ग्राममा गीयुद्ध (साँढे जुधाउने) उत्सव हुँदा हलपिच्छे जति कर तिर्नु
 पर्दथ्यो त्यसको आधामात्र तिरो तिरे पुग्ने र सिँकर (दाउरामा लागेको
 कर) मा पनि एक काष्ठापिण तिर्ने ८ पण, ८ पण तिर्ने चार पण
 तिरो तिरे हुने गरिदिए । मल्लकरमा पनि चारपण तिरे पुग्ने व्यवस्था
 बाँधिदिए^{२३}। यिनैको यङ्गालहिटीको अमिलेखमा ददिाणकोली गाउँका
 बासिन्दालाई मल्लकरमा पहिले ४ ताम्रपण मिनाहा गरिएको र पछि अरू
 पण कोडिदिएको मल्लपीतकरमा पनि त्यस्तै मिनाहा गर्ने व्यवस्था बाँधेको
 कुरा परेको ६^{२४}।

यसरी लिच्छविकालमा मल्लकर, मल्लपीतकर धेरै चलन चल्तीका थिए । मल्लकर १६ पण मन्दा बेसी पनि लिने दस्तुर थियो । कतै १६ पण कतै ८ पण र कतै ४ पण लिने व्यवस्था गरिएको र कही यो कर मिनाहा गरिएको पनि सङ्केत पाइन्छ । शिलालेख टुटफुट भएकाले सबै यथार्थ स्पष्ट मन्न असजिलो भएको छ । जे भए पनि मल्ल र मल्लपीत प्रत्येक गृहस्थसँग सम्बद्ध वस्तु भएको र सरकारले यसमा करको भार कटौती गरेर जनताको मन जित्ने प्रयास गरेको बुझिन्छ ।

वटुको अशुवर्माको शिलालेखमा सुगुरसँगै मल्ल पीतको उल्लेख (मल्ल-पीतकर सुकरकर) छ । यो मन्दा अर्को अर्थ स्पष्ट पार्नमा अशुवर्माको बुद्ध-मतीको शिलालेखले मदत गरेको छ । त्यहाँ सुगुर, कुसुरा, माझका साथसाथै मल्लपीतको उल्लेख परेको छ । यो शिलालेखमा करको प्रसंग छैन । केवल सुगुर, कुसुरा, मल्लपीत माझका बच्चा न्मानेले सुशी भएका अशुवर्माले बुगायूमी (बुद्धमती) गाउँमा भट्टाधिकरणको प्रवेश रोकिदिएर ग्रामवासिलाई निगाह गरिदिएका थिए । भट्टाधिकरण अडाले धर्मको सल्ल परेको धर्म संकर भएका कुरामा विचार गर्दथ्यो । अडुका कर्मचारीले ग्रामवासीलाई निश्चय पनि दुःख दिन्थे । अडुको अधिकार भित्रकिदिनु दुनियाँलाई सुविधा दिएको हुन्थ्यो । बुगायूमी ग्राममा भट्टाधिकरणको प्रवेश रोकिदिएर यस अडुले गर्ने धर्ममा सल्ल परेका सम्बन्धी मामिला स्वयं अशुवर्माले दरवारबाटै हेर्ने गरेका थिए^{२५} ।

सुगुर, कुसुरा, मल्लपीत माझहस्तको काटमार पूरै बर्जित गरिएको बुगायूमी ग्राम अहिंसामा लागेको धार्मिक चोत्र भएको देखिन्छ । प्राचीन-कालदेखि आजसम्म यहाँ बुग्मलीकेशवर (राता मच्छेन्द्रनाथ) को स्थान रहेको र यिनको जात्रा पनि चलिरहेको छ । यो जात्रा प्रथा चाहिँ लिच्छवि राजा

नरेन्द्रदेवले चलाएको मन्त्रे कुरा वंशावलीमा लेखिएको छ । नेपालमा अवलो-
कितेश्वरको स्थापना भएको चाहिँ सातौँ शताब्दीका शुरुदेखि नै प्रमाण
पाइन्छ^{२६}। जे भए पनि बुगायूमी ग्राम लिच्छविकालमा बौद्ध संघ विहार
रहेर होस् वा अवलोकितेश्वर जस्ता देवताको स्थापना भएर होस् बौद्ध
धार्मिक क्षेत्र भएको र त्यस क्षेत्रमा पशुपति क्षेत्रमा जस्तै काटमार रोकि-
एको चाहिँ बुझिन्छ^{२७}।

यसकारण सुगुर कुसुरा माझ जस्तै मल्ल मल्लपीत पनि बध्य पशु
भएको र यिनका मासु जनताले दैनिक उपभोगमा त्याग्ने गरेको थियो मन्त्रे
पनि बुझिन्छ। यी शिलालेखमा कर उठाइने कुरा नभएर मासु खाने पशु
नमान्ने कुरा लेखिएकोले मत्स्यानामबाधेनन् = माझ नमान्नेले मन्त्रे बिचकै
सबै प्रकारका माझ नमान्ने कुरा आइहाले भएपछि फेरि 'मल्लपीताना'
भनिर लेखेकोमा यसको पनि माझै हो भनिर अर्थ गर्नु सुहाउने कुरा हुन आउँदैन ।
माझ नमान्ने मन्त्रे बिचकै सबै प्रकारका माझ जस्तै:- रहु, असला, बुहारी,
सिङ्ग्री भुरा माझका भेदहरू समावेश हुन आउँछन् । सुशी नकाट्नु भनिएपछि
फेरि सिदाल नकाट्नु, बाकट नकाट्नु, व्याङ्ग्रा नकाट्नु भनिरहनु पर्छ र?
कुक्कुट-सूकराणां=सुगुर, कुसुरा, मल्लपीतानां= मल्लका पाठा, मत्स्यानां=
माझहरू पनि अबाधेनन्=नमान्नेले परितुष्टि:-सुशी भएका, यस्तो अर्थ हुन्छ ।
त्यस्ता ठाउँमा मल्लपीतको माझै विशेष भनिर अर्थ गर्नु कुनै पनि संस्कृत
व्याकरण जान्ने मानिसको चित्त बुझ्ने कुरा हुन नआउँने हुनाले यी अर्थ
गराइ ग्राह्य ठहर्दैन । यसै सन्दर्भमा उठेको मल्ल-रागी मल्लपीत=रागीको
बच्चा मन्त्रे तर्क पनि 'मल्ले' को अर्थ मधेश रागी मन्त्रे भएपछि समुचित
देखिन आएन र यसमा अरु कुनै प्रमाण पनि देखिदैन । फेरि त्यसमा पनि
बच्चा रागी, माउ रागी मन्त्रे भेद लोकमा पनि छैन, शास्त्रमा पनि पाइं-
दैन । 'मल्लबाट मल्ले' मन्त्रे शब्द बनेको होइन । मध्यदेश- मधेशबाट आएको

हो, नेवारी समाजमा मधेश रागी पहाड रागीको भेद चलेको छ^{२९} मनी देवीचन्द्र भेष्ले मल्लको माउ पैत्याई दिस्काले यी शंकाको पनि समाधान हुन आएको छ ।

उपर्युक्त विवेचना-अनुसार 'मल्ल' शब्द कुन जाति वा व्यक्ति विशेषसँग सम्बन्ध राख्ने देखिएन । पशुसँग सम्बन्ध राख्ने हुँदा पनि रागी-लाई र माकालाई पनि बुझाउने नभए पछि यसको सही शाब्दिक अर्थ के हो त? यी राम्ररी पैत्याएर मल्ल, मल्लकर, मल्लपीतकर, मल्लयुद्ध गोष्ठी-को परिपन्च मिलाएर समुचित परिभाषा पैत्याउन हाम्रा प्राचीन बाइ०-मयका पाता पल्टाउनु परेको छ ।

वैदिकयज्ञमा राजसूययज्ञ प्रशिद्ध छ । सम्पूर्ण राजालाई बश पारेपछि गरिने हुँदा अश्वमेध सहको यो यज्ञ गर्ने अधिकार राजपाठ चलाउने दौत्रीमात्रलाई छ । यस यज्ञमा इष्ट पशुयाग सीमयाग विशेष गरि गरिन्छन् । ४४६ इष्ट दुइवटा (वा तीनवटा) मल्हा आदि गरेका पशु बलि दिने याग, आठवटा सीमयाग, सातवटा दवी होम यति सबै मिलाएर राजसूय भन्ने यज्ञ हुन्छ^{२८} ।

यहाँ राजसूय यज्ञ गर्दा मल्हा पशुबलि दिनु पर्छ मनी लेखिएको छ । मल्हादयः पशुयागाः^{२९} मल्हादयः पशवः^{३०} । यसबाट मल्हा बलि चढ्ने र मासु खाने हुने जनावर रहेछ भन्ने देखिन आउँछ ।

मल्हा शब्दको व्युत्पत्ति र प्रयोग हेर्न राजसूय विधि पल्टाउनु परेको छ । यसमा पहिले शतपथ ब्राह्मणको राजसूय प्रकरणाको चरकसीत्राम-णिमा पशुयाग विधि हेर्दा बलि दिने पशुका बारिमा यस्तो लेखिएको छ ।

अथ चरकसौत्रामणिः

श्वेत आश्विनी भवति । श्वेतीविवह्यश्चिनावविर्मल्हा सारस्वती भवत्यु-
ष्ममिन्द्राय सुत्राम्णी आलभते दुर्वेदा स्वं समृद्धा पशवी यथैव समृद्धान्न
विन्देदप्यजनिवाल्मीरस्ति हि सुप्रपतरा भवन्ति स यथजानाल्मीरलीहित
आश्विनी भवति तद्यथेतया बजते ५।४।६।१ शतपथ ब्राह्मण ।

आश्विनीका लागि सेतो पशु बलि दिनुपर्छ । मल्हा मेढो सरस्व-
तीलाई दिनुपर्छ । रक्षा गर्ने इन्द्रलाई साढ चढाउनुपर्छ । यस्ता किसि-
मका पशु पाउन पनि गाह्रो पर्छ । यस्ता गुण भएका पशु पाइएनन् भने
वोकाहरूकै बलि दिनुपर्छ । वोकाहरू फन् राम्ररी गलेर पाक्छन् पनि ।
वोकाहरूकै बलि दिइन्छ भने आश्विनीका लागि रातो वोको दिनु ।
यो सौत्रामणि गर्ने विधि हो ।

यसको भाष्यमा अत्र स्पष्ट पारिर यस्ती लेखिएको छ । “तत्र पशु-
त्रयं देवतासम्बन्धविशिष्टं विधे- श्वेत आश्विन इति । अश्विदेवत्यः श्वेत
पशुरालभ्यः । मल्हा गलस्तनयुतेत्यर्थः ताम् ^ अविम् ^ भेषी सरस्वत्ये आल-
भेत । ^ सुत्राम्णी सुष्ठुत्रात्रे एतद् गुणाकाय इन्द्राय ऋणम सचनसमर्थमालि-
त । उक्त- पशुषु श्वेतगलस्तनयुक्त्वरूपं गुणसम्भाविनं मत्वा भ्रुतिः स्वय-
मेव पदान्तरमाह ^ दुर्वेदा ^ इति । ^ स्वम् ^ उक्तीत्या ^ समृद्धाः
गुणवत्त्वेन सम्पूर्णाः पशवी ^ दुर्वेदाः ^ दुर्भाः तेषामलाभे तत्तद्देवत्यान् ।
त्रीन् अजान् स्वं आलभेत । सुप्रपतराः सुखेन श्रपयितुमर्हाः । अजत्रयपदो आश्वि-
नपशोः कञ्चिद् गुणं विधे-”

^ लीहित आश्विन ^ इति

अतः स्वं कात्यायनः- आश्विनीऽजः श्वेतः मल्हाविः सारस्वती ऋणमभि-

न्द्राय सुत्राम्णो, तद्गुणामविज्ञाः प्रथमो लोहितः (का. भी. सू. १५।२७४ + ७८) स्तेषां पशूनां सूत्रामणिसम्बन्धं दर्शयति, तद्यथेतयेति, पशुत्रयवत्या
 ^स्तया ^ सूत्रामण्या यष्टव्यमित्यर्थः^{३१}।

^श्वेत आश्विन ^ भनेर तीन पशुका देवता सम्बन्ध बताइन्छ ।
 अश्विनी देवतालाई सेती पशु बलि दिनु । मल्हाको अर्थ गलामा लोती
 मुण्डिहस्की भेडी भन्ने हुन्छ । त्यस्तो भेडी सरस्वतीलाई बलि दिनु ।
 सुत्रामा राम्ररी रक्षा गर्ने यस्ता गुण भएका इन्द्रलाई सुव चल्वा साँढ
 बलि चढाउनु । यी तीनवटा पशुमा स्रटा सेती बोको अर्को गलामा माल
 मुण्डिहस्की मल्हा भेडी तेस्रो चल्वा साँढ, यस्ता गुण भएका पशु नपाइने
 ठहराएर आफ्नै वेद अर्को पदा बताउँछ कि सबै गुणले भरिपूर्ण भएका ,
 त्यस्ता पशु नपाइन पनि सम्भव हुन्छ । यदि त्यसो भो भने ती ती देव-
 ताको उद्देश्य राखेर तीनवटा बोका बलि चढाए पनि हुन्छ । बोका
 राम्ररी गलेर पाक्छन् पनि ।

^तीनवटा बोके चढाउने पदामा अश्विनीको बोकाको केही गुण
 बताइन्छ कि अश्विनीका लागि चाहिँ राती बोको चाहिन्छ ^ ।

^यसकारण कात्यायनले लेखेका पनि छन् ^:

अश्विनीका लागि सेती बोको, सरस्वतीका लागि मल्हा भेडी, रक्षाक
 इन्द्रलाई चल्वा साँढ, यस्ता नपाएर तीनवटा बोका भए पनि हुन्छ, बोका-
 मा चाहिँ पहिलो राती चाहिन्छ ^ ।

यी पशुको सूत्रामणि यज्ञको सम्बन्ध देखाइन्छ -
 यी तीनै पशु बलि दिने सूत्रामणि यज्ञ गर्नु भनेर ।

व्याख्या सहितको कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्रमा यी पशुका वारेमा
 अफ स्पष्ट गरिएको छ ।

आश्विनीञ्जः श्वेतः ॥ ४ ॥

श्वेत आरकः गौरः । उरुवर्णः (श्वेत आलोहितीञ्ज इति
हरिस्वामिनः शुक्लवर्ण इति माधवाचार्याः) ।

मल्हाविः सारस्वती ॥ ५ ॥

रजो मल हन्तीति मल्हाविः सा सारस्वती । मलान् हन्ति
जहातीति अथवा मल्लान् हन्ति इति (पाठान्तर) (मल्हा) । यस्या
ऊणासु रजो न तिष्ठति सर्वविधा अविर्मन्नी सारस्वती ।

कृष्णममिन्द्राय सुत्राम्णे ॥ ६ ॥

तद्गुणामावे जाः प्रथमो लोहितः ॥ ७ ॥ तद्गुणाममावे अजा
भवन्ति, तदा च लोहितः प्रथमो भवति । लोहिती ररुवर्णः^{३२}

अश्विनीका लागि सेतो बीको बलि हुन्छ । सेतो मनको अलि
अलि रातो, सेरो वा सेतो । रातो पनि हुन्छ । (सेरो चाहिन्छ मन्ने
हरिस्वामीको मत छ) । (सेतो चाहिन्छ मन्ने माधवाचार्यको मत छ^३) ।

सारस्वतीका लागि मल्हा भेडी चाहिन्छ । धुलो मैलो फाल्छ
मन्दा मल्हा हुन्छ । अर्थात् मल (मैलो) नाश गर्छ मलान् हन्ति^३ अथवा
मल्लान् हन्ति^३ मन्दा मल्हा रूप बन्दछ । जसको ऊन्मा धुलो बस्तिन,
त्यस सालको अवि- भेडी मल्हावि कहिन्छ ।

सुत्रामा अर्थात् रक्षाक इन्द्रलाई चाहिँ साँढे नै बलि दिनुपर्छ ।
यस्ता भेडा नपाए बोकिले बाट काम चलाउनु । बोकामा पहिलो बीको
रातो चढाउनु^३ ।

का. श्रौतसूत्रकी सरलावृत्तिमा पनि यसको अर्थ सीलको छ ।
 'मलात्र हन्ति जहाति इति 'मल्हा' । यस्या ऊणासि रजो नास्ति सा'

मल्हायाः पशुयागाः

आदित्या मल्हा गर्भिणीमाल्मैत (५।४।४।८ शतपथब्राह्मण) मल्हादयः
 पशवः^{३३} ।

'मल फाल्ख' भन्दा 'मल्हा' रूप बन्छ । जसको ऊन्मा धुली
 भेली हुँदा त्यस्तो भेडी 'मल्हा' भनिन्छ । 'राजसूयमा' मल्हा आदि
 गरका पशुबलि दिने यज्ञ हुन्छन् -----

'आदित्य देवताका लागि गर्भिणी मल्हा पशुको बलि गर्नु'

'शतपथ ब्राह्मणको यो कृत्वा अनुसार मल्हा आदि गरका पशुहरू
 राजसूय यज्ञमा बलि चढ्छन्' ।

का. श्रौतसूत्रको व्याख्या देवयाज्ञिक पद्धतिमा पनि मल्हा भन्ने
 पशु भेडी नै हो भनिर स्पष्टसँग लेखिएकोछ, -----

पशवस्त्रयः । अश्विन ईशद्वरकृष्णः । मल्हा भेषी सारस्वती,
 यस्या ऊणासि रजो नतिष्ठति सा मल्हा । इन्द्राय सुत्राम्णी कृणम इति
 सर्व गुणकपशूनाममावि त्रयीप्यजा स्वालभ्यन्ते । अस्मिन्नपि पदो अश्विनी
 लीहित स्व भवति^{३४} ।

'तीनवटा बलि दिने पशु राजसूयमा चाहिन्छन् । अश्विनीका
 लागि अलि अलि रातो अर्थात् सेरो बोको चाहिन्छ । मल्हा भनिको भेडी
 हो । सौ सरस्वतीका लागि चाहिन्छ । जसको ऊन्मा धुली बस्तीन
 त्यस्तो भेडी मल्हा भनिन्छ । रक्षाक इन्द्रलाई सुव चल्वा साँढ दिनु । भने

जस्ता पशु नपाए तीन्वटा बलि बोकाके दिए पनि हुन्छ । तर अश्विनीका लागि दिने पहिलो बोको चाहिँ राति चाहिन्छ ।

तैत्तिरीय संहिताको बौधायन श्रौतसूत्रमा चाहिँ दुई थरि पशुले यज्ञ गर्ने विधि बताइएको छ । त्यसमा पनि मल्हा पशु चाहिँ ग्रहण गरिएको छ ।

अथ द्विपशुना पशुबन्धेन यजेत आदित्या मल्हा गर्भिणी माल्मैत मारु-
तीं पृश्नीं षष्ठीहीं, गर्भिण्यादित्या मवत्यगर्मा मारुती आदित्यया पूर्वया
प्रचरति मारुत्या उचरया, उच्चैरादित्यया आभ्रावयति उपाशु मारुत्ये
सतिष्ठति^{३५}।

आपस्तम्बीय श्रौतसूत्रमा पनि दुई किसिमकै पशुको बलि दिने विधि
बताइएको छ । त्यसमा पनि गर्भिणी मल्हाकै उल्लेख परेको छ ।

अपरो द्विपशुना पशुबन्धेन यजेत ।

आदित्या मल्हा गर्भिणीमाल्मैत ।

मारुतीं पृश्नीं षष्ठीहीम्

उच्चैरादित्याया आभ्रावयति

उपाशु मारुत्या प्रचरति^{३६}। १८। २१। १२-१४

यी माथिका उदाहरणबाट मल्हा मन्ने असल ऊन भेडा गर्ने घाँटीमा
पनि लोती भुण्डिएको असल जातको भेडा रहेछ मन्ने कुरा बुझिन्छ । बाझा-
का पनि धेरै भेद भए जस्तै भेडाका पनि धेरै थरि भेद पाइन्छन् । तिनमा यो
एक प्रकारको भेडाको जाति हो ।

राजसूय यज्ञमा बलि दिँदा गर्भिणी भेडाको आवश्यक पर्ने हुँदा मल्हा
स्त्रीलिङ्गी रूपको प्रयोग यहाँ परेको हो । यसको पुलिङ्ग रूप मल्हा बन्दछ ।

इन्द्रलाई चल्वा साढे सरस्वतीलाई मल्हा भेडीको बलि दिने र यी नपाए बोकैबाट काम चलाउने कुरा यहाँ लेखिएको छ । यस प्रकारका भेडा हिमाली क्षेत्रमा विशेष पैदा हुने र मध्यदेशमा यज्ञ यागादि गर्दा यस्ता भेडा नपाइने पनि सम्भव हुने हुँदा बोकैबाट यसमा काम चलाउने विधि वेदमा उल्लिखित गरिएको पनि बुझिन्छ ।

भेडा, बाख्रा, गाई, भैँसी, घोडा, गौठमा पालेर पशु धन बढाउन स्त्री पशुकि प्राधान्य र बाहुल्य हुन्छ । पुरुष पशुहरू विभिन्न बाहिरिया काममा पनि प्रयोगमा आउँछन् । जस्तै ससी, बोका, पाठाले मासु खान (हिमाल तिर ससी, बाख्रा मारी बोक्न पनि) गोरूले हलो जोत्न गाडा तान्न, राँगाले मध्यमा जोत्न, गाडा तान्न, पहाडमा मासु खान पनि, घोडाले चढ्न, वगैँची तान्न, मारी बोक्न पनि काम दिइरहेका छन् । गोठ पाल्दा शय शयको बथानका भेडाबाख्राहरूमा दशवटा बोका, गाइहरूमा चारवटा साँढे, भैँसीहरूमा चारवटा राँगा, घोडी सच्चर-हरूमा पाँचवटा घोडा (अँ डावाल) मात्र पाल्दा पुग्छ^{३७} । यसैले भेडीचोक वा भेडी गोठ, बाख्रा गोठ, गाई गोठ, भैँसी गोठ, भन्ने लोकमा चलन चलेको पनि छ ।

प्राचीनकालमा नेपालमा यस्ता गोठ प्रशस्त थिए । आभीर (गोपाल) जातिका मानिसको आबादी भएको र पशुपालन व्यवसाय फस्टाएको वर्णन अनुश्रुतिबाट पनि, ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणबाट पनि स्पष्ट छ । यस व्यवसायमा ऊर्जन उत्पादन गर्ने, मासु खाने, मारी बोक्ने काम पनि भेडा-बाटै हुने हुँदा भेडी गोठको सबभन्दा ठूलो महत्त्व थियो । हिमाली भेकमा ठूला ठूला भेडीचोक थिए, उपत्यकाका र पहाडका गाउँहरूमा पनि झुन्झुमा जंगल प्रशस्त हुँदा भेडी गोठको केही कमी थिएन ।

नेपालमा ऊन्खाट बनेका वस्तुको बेपार विदेशमा चलेको वर्णन अहिले भन्दा तेइस शय वर्ण पहिलेदेखि पाइएको छ । कीटत्यल नेपालमा बनेका आठपाटे राडी, घुमराडी असल हुन्छन् मनी लेखेका छन्^{१८} । बोधायनले^{१९} उच्चका मानिसहरू ऊन्खाट बनेका राडी, पासी, कम्बलको बेपार गर्छन् । जाड- रक्सी सान्छन्, घोडाको बेपार गर्छन्, हातहतियार भिरर हिँड्छन्, नाउद्वारा समुद्रपारका द्वीप हुँदा पुग्छन्^{२०} मनी लेखेका छन्^{२१} । नेपालको राडी, काम्ला पवित्र असल हुन्छन्, पितृकार्यमा नेपाली काम्ला, राडी (नेपाल कम्बल) ओझ्याएर श्राद्ध गर्नु मनी धर्मशास्त्रमा पनि लेखिएको छ ।

यसरी प्राचीनकालमा भेडा पाल्ने व्यवसाय नेपालीको मुख्य पेशा थियो भन्ने कुरामा सन्देह छैन । मल्लकर यही व्यवसायमा लागेको कर थियो । माउ भेडामा लाग्ने कर मल्लकर र पाठामा लाग्ने मल्लपोतकर थियो भन्ने पनि बुझ्नु आवश्यक छ । मल्ला माउ भेडा ऊन बढाउने र पाठा जन्माउने काम गर्दथ्यो भनि बीका भेडा ऊन दिनुको साथै धौतालाई बलि चढ्ने र मासु खाने काममा आउँथ्यो । यहाँनैर सुटा कुरा पनि स्मरणिय छ कि चीनमा पाइएको नेपाल सम्बन्धी पुरानी वर्णनमा^{२२} नेपालीहरू भेडाको पाठाको भुट्टो मासु देउतालाई बलि चढाउँछन्^{२३} मनी लेखिएको^{२४} । यसबाट पनि मासु खाने बलि दिनेमा भेडाले त्यसवेला प्रमुखता पाएको कुरा लक्षात हुन्छ ।

अधि-अधि ठूलाबडा राजा महाराजाहरू राम्ररी पाली पोसी सघाएर राखेका पशु पक्षीहरू जुधारेर रमिता गर्ने गर्दथे । जनतामा पनि यो सुटा निकै मजाको चाखलाग्दो मनोरञ्जनको साधन बनेको थियो । रण-बहादुर शाहले देश विदेशबाट असल असल जातका साढे फ्रिक्काएर तिनको पालन पोषण गर्न सुटा विभागे सडा गराएका थिए । साढे लडाएर गर्ने

सोस उन्मा ज्यादे ठूलो थियो । यस्तो साढे जुधाउने सेल तमासा-
मा रुचि राख्ने रणबहादुरले देश विदेशबाट नामोदार साढे जम्मा गरेका
थिए^{४१}। उनलाई सुशी पार्ने माट कविले साढेको र साढे जुधेको बारे वीर
हास्य अश्लील (फौहोरी) कविता पनि लेखेका थिए^{४२}।

यो साढे जुधार तमासा हेर्ने प्रचलन नेपालमा लिच्छविकालमा पनि
चलेको थियो । साढे जुधार तमासा देखाउने समारोह सञ्चालन गर्न जनता-
बाट हलपिच्छे रकम उठाइन्थ्यो^{४३}। यो युद्ध जस्तै मल्ल युद्ध पनि थियो ।
मल्ल युद्ध संचालन गर्न पनि गूठी राखिन्थ्यो । पर्व पर्वमा देवतास्थानमा
मल्लयुद्ध गराएर यो जात्रा जनतालाई पनि देखाइन्थ्यो । मल्ल मन्त्रे मेडाको
धुम्बा थियो मन्त्रे कुरा माथिका वणनिवाट अवगत हुन आसकोछ । मेडाका
धुम्बा जुध्न थालेपछि कहिल्यै पछि हट्नेनन् । यो जुधाइ पनि साँढे जुधाइ
मन्दा बढी आकर्षक र कौतूहलपूर्ण हुने हुँदा यसको प्रचलन त्यसवेला साधा-
रण थियो । मल्लयुद्धगोष्ठी पनि मेडा जुधार तमासा देखाउने समारोह
संचालन गर्ने गूठी थियो मन्त्रे बुझिन्छ^{४४}।

मल्ल शब्द वैदिक हो । मल्लको र मल्लको उच्चारणमा त्यति
फरक पर्दैन । मल्ल चाहिँ संस्कृतको लौकिक साहित्यमा जहीँ तहीँ प्रचलित
भएको हुँदा स्वरसादृश्यले मल्लका बदला लौकिक प्रयोगमा मल्ल लेखिएको
र अर्थ भने यसले वैदिक प्रयोगकै बोकिरहेको बुझिन्छ । प्राचीन नेपालमा
वैदिक यज्ञको प्रचलन निकै थियो^{४५}। वैदिक यज्ञयागादि होउन्जेल यो प्रयोग
हुँदै रह्यो । यज्ञयागादिको लोपका साथै यसको पूर्वरूप पूर्व अर्थ पनि लोप
हुन गयो ।

आजकाल प्रचलित पुराना संस्कृत कोषमा यो शब्द राखिएको देखि-
दैन । केवल मीनियर विलियम्सको कोषमा मल्ल शब्द राखिएकोछ । त्यस-

को अर्थ घाँटीमा माल फुण्डिएको वस्तु (गाई, बाख्रा जस्तो) मन्ने पनि दिइएको छ^{४६}। नेपाली भाषामा वस्तुको घाँटीमा फुण्डिएको लोतीलाई माल भनिन्छ । यसको माउ यी मल्ह नै हो मन्ने कुरा यहाँनेर स्पष्ट हुन आएको छ । मल्हाको निरुक्ति चाहिँ पुराना भाष्यकारले^{४७} धूलो मैली नटिप्ने, सफा ऊन भएका भेडा^{४८} मन्ने गरेका छन् । कसैले मल्लात्र हन्ति मन्ने पाठ पढेर (मल्लजुद्धर्मेलाई हान्ने) मन्ने पनि गरेका छन्^{४९}। आज नेपाली भाषामा आएको मल्हा शब्दले भेडालाई मात्र नकहेर बाख्रालाई समेत सँगिटो हुनालि र वैदिककालमा पनि बलि दिँदा मल्ह मा-
हाको विकल्पमा बाख्राको पाठी अर्थात् बोके दिने व्यवस्था पनि भएकोले लिच्छविकालमा मल्हको बदला मल्ल प्रयोग हुँदै आएको यी शब्दले व्यापक अर्थ सँगिटेर भेडा, बाख्रा समेतलाई बुझाउने गर्दछ्यो कि मन्ने सम्भावना पनि बलियो नभएको होइन । यस विषयको व्यापकता बुझ्न चाहिँ अझ गहि-
राइसँग यी शब्द निकर्ण गर्न आवश्यक छ ।

आज यी सट्टा आश्चर्यजनक वास्तव रहस्यले हामीलाई कीतूहलपूर्ण पारिरहेको छ कि यी वैदिक- प्रयोग कसरी नेपाली भाषामा भित्र लुकेर तत्सम रूपले नै त्यही वैदिक अर्थ जस्ताको तस्तै बोकिरहेर प्रचलनमा आइर-
हेको छ ।

आज भोलि नेपाली भाषामा मल्हा मन्ने शब्द निकै प्रचलित छ । वेदमा गाम्बिनु माउ भेडा मल्हा भनिन्थ्यो भने अहिले नेपाली भाषामा पाठाले सहित भएको बाख्रो वा भेडी मल्हा भनिन्छ ।^{५०} एक मल्हा बाख्रो^{५१} एक मल्हा भेडा^{५२} मन्दा पाठा सहित भएको माउ बाख्रो वा माउ भेडी मन्ने बुझिन्छ । लोक व्यवहारमा यसरी प्रचलित भएको भए तापनि आज-
भोलिका नेपाली शब्दकोषमा यी शब्द राखिएको छैन^{५३}।

लिङ्गविकालमा प्रचलित मल्ल शब्दसँग आजभोलि नेपाली भाषामा प्रचलित मल्ला शब्दको नाता सम्बन्ध के पला? अथवा कुनै परम्परागत सम्बन्ध गाँसिएको होला कि नहोला? यसमा विचार गरी राप्ररी तारतम्य मिलाएर यी सम्बन्ध सुट्याउन सकेको सण्डमा यी गुह्य रहस्य सुलस्त मर सुल आउने थियो कि भन्ने सम्भावना मेरो मनमा पहिलेदेखि उब्जिरहेको थियो । आज सो मेरो सम्भावना क्षुति परम्परा (वैदिक परम्परा, र कर्ण परम्परा) बाट पनि सार्थक सिद्ध हुन आएको छ । विद्वान्ब्रह्मा यी अर्थ सर्वथा ग्राह्य हुनेछ भन्ने ठान्दछु ।

२१४ सि एन ए एस जर्नल, मोलम ७, नं. १ र २ (डिसि. १९७६ र जुन १९८०)

१. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य - लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, नेपाल ए. अ. संस्थान,
त्रि० वि० वि०, कीर्तिपुर २०३०।३७-३८ पृ.
२. उही २४४-४७ पृ.
३. उही ३५१ पृ.
४. सिल्मालिबी - लि. नेपाल भाग २ पेरिस १९०५।२१२ पृ.
५. बालचन्द्र शर्मा - नेपालको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा प्र. कृष्णा कुमारी ,
वाराणसी २०३३।१२६ पृ.
६. डिल्लीरमण रेग्मी - एन्सिन्ट नेपाल (प्राचीन नेपाल) के स्क्रिप्ट,
मुसोपाध्याय, कलकत्ता, १९६० ई. १८६ पृ.
७. मेडिबल नेपाल - (उही) १९६५ ई. (२०१ पृ.)
८. हितनारायण मन्ना - लिच्छविज अफ वैशाली (वैशालीका लिच्छवि
हस्त) बनारस १९७० ई. २०४-५ पृ.
९. सूर्यविक्रम ज्ञवाली - नेपाल उपत्यकाको मध्यकालीन इतिहास, रायल
नेपाल एकेडेमी २०१६ काठमाडौं । ५३ पृ.
१०. दुण्डिराज मण्डारी - नेपालको ऐतिहासिक विवेचना प्र. कृष्णा-
कुमारी काशी सं. २०१५।७७।७८ पृ.
११. वि. सं. १३०२ मा तेह्रतीको उपत्यकामा आक्रमण भयो । पुसदेसि
चैत्रसम्म लडाई हुँदा तेह्रतीको जित भयो । मकपुरले दण्ड तिरैर
तेह्रतीको युद्ध सर्व बहोन्थ्यो । रोपनीपिच्छे ६ द्रम्मघरेपिच्छे ४ द्रम्म-
का दरले प्रजासंग कर उठाई सो दण्डको रकम मकपुर राजाले पुर्तालि
गरेको थियो । वि. सं. १३६७ को हिउँदमा पनि तेह्रति राजाले
ललितपुरमा आक्रमण गरी विजय गरेका थिए । यस बेला पनि सो
लडाई सर्व उपती गर्नको लागि प्रजासंग कर उठाइएको थियो । हेर्नु-
पूणिमा (त्रैमासिक पत्रिका) ४ पूणाङ्क २२ तथा २६ पृ. । वि. सं.
१३६१ मा नेपाल उपत्यकामा पुण्य मल्लका सश सैन्यले आक्रमण गर्नुभयो ।

भदौदेसि फागुनसम्म ६ महिना सो सैन्य यहाँ रह्यो । फर्कने
बेलामा सशहुरले दण्डको रूपमा काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका प्रजाबाट
धन उठाएर लिएका थिए ।^१ पूणिमा^२ ६ पूणाङ्क २६ पृ. ।

१२. दीनेशचन्द्र सरकार - इण्डियन रेपिग्राफिकल ग्रीसरी, मोतीलाल
बनारसीदास, वाराणसी १९६६ ई. १९३ पृ.

१३. प्रश्न:- पटक वा रेग्मीजीका भनाइ अनुसार मल्लकर भनेको मल्लहरू
माथि लगाइएको कर हो भन्ने छ । यो मल्ल जातिसँग सम्बन्ध
राख्ने कर हो कि?

उत्तर- जातिसँग सम्बन्ध राख्ने कर होइन । मल्ल युद्ध गर्ने संस्था-
सँग उठाइएको कर यो हो ।

बाबुराम आचार्य र उहाँका कृति, ने. ए. अ. संस्थान त्रि०
वि० वि० कीर्तिपुर । २०२६।१७ पृ.

१४. ^१ द सिग्निफिकेन्स अफ मल्लकर ^२ जर्नल अफ द त्रिभुवन युनि-
सिटी ३ भा. २ नं. १९६७ कीर्तिपुर ।

१५. लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, ने. ए. अ. संस्थान २०३० कीर्तिपुर । २२३
पृ.

१६. उही २८६ पृ.

१७. जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मी - प्राचीन नेपालको राजनीतिक इतिहास,
नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान २०३५ काठमाडौं, ६६ पृ.

१८. देवीचन्द्र श्रेष्ठ, ^१ कन्ट्रिब्युशन्स् टु नेपलीज स्टडीज, ^२ ५ भाग २ नं.
ने. ए. अ. केन्द्र त्रि० वि० कीर्तिपुर २०३५ आषाढ । १-६ पृ.

१९. लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख - २२५ पृ.

२०. ^१ मल्लकरकरणियद्दो काणपिणाद्दुर्ध्वेन ग्रहीतव्यम् ^२ उही २१४-५
पृ.

२१. मल्लकर..... समुचित ताम्रपणचतुष्टयाद्भु ध्वं न ग्राह्यम् उही
२७२ पृ.

२२. उही ३५१ पृ.

२३. उही ४४३ पृ.

२४. उही, ४२३ पृ.

२५. (विदितम्भवतु भवताइ०) कुक्कुटसूकराणां मल्लपीतानां मत्स्याना-
न्वाबाधनेन परितुष्टेरस्मामिर्भट्टाधिकरणाप्रवेशेन वः प्रसादः कृतः=

^ तपाईंहरूलाई थाहा होस् कि- (यो बुगायूमी=बुइ०मती गाउँमा)
कुसुरा, सँगुर मल्लका पाठा माझाहरूको पनि वध नगर्नालेखुशी
मस्का हामीले भट्टाधिकरण अड्डाको प्रवेश रोकिदिएर तपाईंहरू-
लाई निगाहा गरेका छौं ^ उही २६० पृ. ।

२६. सर्वसत्त्वहितसुखात्थायि भगवत् आयविलोकितेश्वरनाथ (:) प्रतिष्ठा-
पितः देयधर्म्मोयि परमोपासकमणिगुप्तस्य भासूर्यया महेन्द्रमत्या सह
(उही १७७ पृ.) । ^ सम्पूर्णा प्राणीहरूको हित र सुखका लागि
भगवान् परमेश्वर अवलोकितेश्वरनाथको स्थापना गरी बौद्ध उपासक
मणिगुप्तले आफ्नी पत्नी महेन्द्रमतिसँग यो दान पुण्य गरेका
हुन् ।

धरहरानेरको यो शिलालिखबाट विक्रमको सातौं शताब्दीको सुरुमा
नेपालमा बौद्धसत्त्वस्वरूप अवलोकितेश्वर नामका बौद्ध देवताको
मन्दिरमूर्ति स्थापना गर्ने चलन चलिसेको थियो भन्ने स्पष्ट छ ।
पुरानी गोपाल वंशावलीमा ^ राजा श्री नरेन्द्रदेव वर्ष ३५ तस्य

आचार्य बंधुदत्तयेन श्री बुग्मलोकेश्वर भट्टारकस्य जात्रा कृता भवति

^ (नरहरिनाथ ^ सन्धिपत्रसंग्रह ^ १ भाग २५६ पृ.) =

“नरेन्द्रदेवले बुग्मलोकेश्वरको रथ यात्रा चलाएका थिए” भन्ने कुरा लेखिएको छ । यिनि नरेन्द्रदेवका नाति जयदेव (द्वितीय) को वि.सं. ७६० को पशुपतिको प्रशिक्ष अमिलेसमा “किं पद्म करुणा-करस्य करती लोकेश्वरादागतम्” (पशुपतिमा चढाएको)

यो कमल रूपाभयमूर्ति भगवान् लोकेश्वरका हातबाट आएको पो हो कि? मनी हातमा कमलको फूल लिइका करुणामूर्ति अवलोकितेश्वरको वणि गरिएको हुँदा वंशावलीको उक्त कुरामा अविश्वास गर्न सकिँदैन ।

२७. कुक्कुट-सूकराणां मल्लपीतानां मत्स्यानाञ्चावाधनेन—यहाँ कुसुरा सुगुर मल्ल (राणा) का बच्चा र माझाहरूको हेरचाहले (लि.का. अ. २६१ पृ.) भन्ने अर्थले प्रसङ्ग हेर्दा भेट सार् जस्तो लागेन । त्यस कारण यसको व्याख्यामा “पाशुपात्यमा प्रीत्साहन” भनी “बुगायूमी (बुग्मती) ग्रामका बासिन्दाहरूले कुसुरा, सुगुर, माझा, मल्लका बच्चाको हेरचाह राख्ने गरी उत्पादन बढाएको” (उही २६७ पृ.) भन्ने साथी धनवज्र वज्राचार्यको विचारमा सहमत हुन सकिन्न । हो, लिच्छविकालमा पाशुपात्य व्यवसाय राम्ररी फस्टाएको थियो । यसबाट सरकारलाई प्रशस्त आम्दानी थियो । तर सडै बुद्धिमती गाउँमा सुगुर, कुसुरा, मल्लपीत (यसको शब्दार्थ तल दिइएको छ) माझाहरू सबैको व्यवसाय चल्ने देखाउन पनि सकिँदैन । गौठ पाल्ने स्त्रीपशुको प्राधान्य हुन्छ । (यसमा तल विचार गरिएको छ ।) तीसलको अमिलेसमा पाल्ने पशुमा महिषीको उल्लेख पाइएको छ । गौठ पाल्ने त्यस्तै गाई भैसी, भैडा, बाख्रा आदि स्त्रीपशुको उल्लेख हुनु पर्ने । सो नभएर यही ता फेरि सबै काटिसाने

पुराण पशुको उल्लेख परिकीर्ण । त्यसकारण अबाधन ८ को अर्थ (पीडा, बाधा, व्यथा दुःख -अमरकोष) दुःख पीडा नदिनु मन्दा अवध वा अहिंसा गर्नु मन्ने हुन्छ । बाधु लोडन, लोडन प्रति-धातः (सिद्धान्तकौमुदी) यसबाट अबाधन-अप्रतिधातः= अहिंसा= नमान्नु मन्ने अर्थ नै आउने हुँदा यो दोत्रमा काटमार वर्जित थियो मन्ने नै बुझिन्छ र सोही विचार मेलै प्रकट गरेको हुँ ।

१८. कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र (सरला व्याख्या सहितको भूमिकामा गङ्गाधर राजसूयप्रकरण) गौरीशंकर गौयनका अच्युतग्रन्थमाला ११ सं. १९८७ काशी, ६१ पृ. ।
२६. उही ५६ पृ. ।
३०. कातीय श्रौतसूत्र, देवयाज्ञिकपद्धति (राजसूय प्रकरण) ई १९३३ काशी । - ४६४ पृ. ।
३१. वाजसनेयिमाध्यदिन- शतपथ- ब्राह्मण, (सामणाचार्यविरचित- वेदप्रकाशाख्यभाष्यसमेतम्, उक्त - भाष्यानुपलब्धिस्थाने हरिहरस्वामिभाष्यसमेतं च) पञ्चमकाण्ड, गंगाविष्णु श्रीकृष्णादास सं. १९६६ बम्बई । १९३-९४ पृ. ।
३२. महर्षिकात्यायन- कातीय श्रौतसूत्र, १५-१०। ४-७ कर्कचार्य-याज्ञिक देवादिकृतभाष्यसार- सहित, डा अत्वरं बेबरशोधित; चीसम्वा संस्कृत सिरिज अफिस, १९७२ वाराणसी, ८६३ पृ. ।
३३. कात्याय श्रौतसूत्र, विद्याधरकृत सरला व्याख्या सहित-प्रकाशकः- गौरीशंकर गौयनका अच्युतग्रन्थमाला ११ सं. १९८७ काशी ।
३४. कातीय श्रौतसूत्र, देवयाज्ञिक-पद्धति-सहित- १५। १०। ३-६ को व्याख्या, प्रकाशकः- चीसम्वा संस्कृत सिरिज अफिस १९३३ बनारस, ५०० पृ. ।

३५. बोधायन श्रौतसूत्र, तैत्तिरीय-संहिता, २ भाग, प्रकाशक:- रशिया-टिक सोसाइटी १९०७ ई. कलकत्ता, ११५ पृ. ।
३६. आपस्तम्बीय श्रौतसूत्र ३ भाग । प्रकाशक:- रशियाटिक सोसाइटी १९०२ ई. कलकत्ता, १०३ पृ. ।
३७. पञ्चवर्णं सराश्वानामजावीनां दशवर्णम् । शतयं गोमहिणी-णां यूथं कुर्याच्चतुर्वर्णम् । २ अधि-२६ अ. ४६ कीटलीय अर्थशास्त्र प्र. ने. प्र. प्रतिष्ठान २०३४।२२५ पृ. ।
३८. अष्टप्लोतिसंघात्या कृष्णा भिङ्गि०सी वर्णवारणामपसारक इति नेपालकम् । २।११।२६। उही १३१ पृ. ।
३९. अधीचरत ऊणाविव्रयः सीधुपान्मुमयती दद्वभिर्व्यवहारः आयुधी-यकं समुद्रसंयानमिति (बोधायन धर्मसूत्र) यसको अर्थ शिवप्रसाद ख-राल्ले यस्तो गर्नु मस्कोछ । ^ उचरका लोग ऊनका व्यापार करि-हैं, मदिरा पीते हैं, मेह बकरियां बेचते हैं, अस्त्रोंका व्यापार करि-हैं, तथा समुद्र तक पहुंचते हैं, इसलिये वे जातिच्युत हो गए हैं । ^ उचरा सण्डके मोटांतिक ^ वीरगाथा प्रकाशन २०२१ गढवाल । २ पृ. ।

यहां ^ उमयतीदद्वभिर्व्यवहार ^ को अर्थ मेढा, बाझा बेच्छन् मन्ने गरियो तर यसको अर्थ दुइपट्टि दाँत हुने वस्तु मन्नाले मेढा बाझा पनि पर्छन् तापनि यसको विवरणमा घोडाको बेपारलाई मुख्य गरि लिएकोछ। 'आयुधीयक' को ^ अर्थ पनि ^ हतियार बेच्ने ^ मन्ने गरियो । त्यसको पनि सो नमसर हातहतियार भिनि मन्ने हुन्छ । फेरि ^ समुद्रसंयानम् ^ को अर्थ पनि ^ समुद्रसम्म जान्छन् " मात्र नमसर बेपारका लागि समुद्रपार जान्छन् मन्ने हुन्छ । यी काम गर्नाले उचरका मान्छेको जात गएको मन्ने खराल्लीको मना-इछ । वास्तवमा धर्मसूत्रकारको सो आशय होइन, किन्तु उचरका

मान्हेका यी ५ कुरा परम्परादेसि चलि आएका लोकाचार हुन् ।
दक्षिणाका मान्हेमा पनि (१) व्रतबन्ध नारेकासँग (२) स्वास्नी
मान्हेसँग एकै पङ्क्तिमा बसेर सानि (३) बासी मात सानि (४)
मामाकी चेली (५) फुपूकी चेलीसँग बिहे गर्ने, यी पाँच लोका-
चार चलिआएका छन् । चलीकादेसि बाहेक गन्यो वा उचरका बेरीत
दक्षिणाकाले, दक्षिणाका बेरीत उचरकाले गन्यो भने मात्र जात
जानि कुरा त्यहाँ लेखिएको हो । उक्त सूत्रको व्याख्या हेर्दा यी
कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ । जस्तै:- ऊर्णायास्तद्विकारस्य च कम्बलादेर्वि-

क्रयः । उमयती दन्ता अश्वादयः । व्यवहारः विक्रयादि ।
आयुधीयकं शस्त्रधारणम् । समुद्रसंयानं नावा द्वीपान्तरगमनम् ।

इतरदितरस्मिन् कुर्वन् दुष्यतीतरदितरस्मिन् । बोधायन धर्मसूत्र,
गौविन्दस्वामिप्रणीत विवरण समेत, १९०७ ई. मैसूर ।

४०. श्रीरामगीयल- प्राचीन नेपालका राजनीतिक और सांस्कृतिक
इतिहास, भा. विद्याप्रकाशन १९७३ वाराणसी । १ परिशिष्ट १.
पृ. ।

४१. प. सुन्दरानन्द वाढा, त्रिरत्नसौन्दर्यगाथा, नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परि-
षद् २०१६। १४८ पृ. तथा यसको परिशिष्ट 'ग' को नवीं पत्र
(२८३-८५-पृ.) पनि पठनीय ।

४२. दयाराम सम्भव - वीरकालीन कविता - साम्ना प्रकाशन २०३४।
३६-५७ पृ. ।

४३. दक्षिणाकोलीग्रामे गौयुद्ध गौहले गौहले यद् देयमासी तस्यार्थम्प्रति-
मुक्तम् - दक्षिणाकोलीग्राममा गौयुद्ध (साँढे जुधाउने उत्सव) मा
हलमिच्छे हल पाटिका दरले जति जति तिरो दिनुपर्छ, त्यसको
आधा मिनाहा भयो । लि. का. अ. ४३४ पृ. ।

४४. लि. का. अ. २८३ पृ. १ (मल्लयुद्धका वारिमा अर्को निबन्धमा विचार गरि-
नेछ ।)

४५. ज्ञानमणि नेपाल - ^१ नेपालमा वैदिक यज्ञको प्रचलन, ^२ प्रज्ञा ८
वर्ष २ अंक, ने. रा. प्रा. प्रतिष्ठान १-१७ पृ. । यस सम्बन्धमा भैरा
निबन्ध ^३ सम्राट् गृहपति ^४ र ^५ सम्राट् गृहपतिको परिभाषा
आदि द्रष्टव्य छन् । ^६ गोरक्षापत्र ^७ ७८ वर्ष १५४-१६६-२४१
अङ्क १ ।

४६. मोनियर विलियम्स ^१ संस्कृत- इङ्ग्लीश डिशनेरी ^२ (प्र. सं. अक्स-
फोर्ड) मोतीलालबनारसीदास १९७६ ई. बनारस, ७६३ पृ. ।

४७. आधुनिक एक संस्कृत कौशमा भने ^१ मल्ला ^२ ले स्त्रीलाई पनि
बुझ्छन् मन्त्रसम्म लेखिएको पाइन्छ । ^३ मल्ला तु प्रमदायां स्त्री ^४

रामावतार शर्मा- वाङ्मययाणवि, ३१८६.

(यो निबन्ध तयार पार्दा मित्र पुरुषोत्तम भट्टराईबाट पनि
सहयोग पारकोमा कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन गर्नु कर्तव्य वन्दछ) ।

Regional Development in Nepal: An Exercise in Reality.
1978. B.P. Shrestha and S.C. Jain. 160 pages. Development Publishers. New Delhi. Indian Rs. 40/- (U.S. \$8).

The subtitle of the book by Dr. B.P Shrestha and Dr.S.C. Jain (an Exercise in Reality) hints at the ambitious task of this slim volume. Not only do the authors attempt to scan the existing regional disparities in Nepal's agricultural, industrial and social services development but they also spell out a scheme for narrowing down these differences. On the basis of data extracted from various survey studies and other relevant sources, Dr. Shrestha and Dr. Jain confirm the popular view that the more remote the regions from the national centres, the more underdeveloped they are in terms of all economic indicators. The existing regional imbalances are attributed to the past development strategy of concentrating the available resources in relatively accessible areas with better potential for higher pay-offs. But why was such a policy adopted? The authors have ignored this question apart from making a few passing references to cost benefit calculations.

It is perhaps due to a bureaucratic mentality and feudal administrative mechanisms in the centre that some regions continued to grow while others remained stationary. Even in regions where perceptible growth took place, the benefits were skewed in favour of upper class groups. This further accentuated the socio-economic imbalances among various classes and groups of people within a region. Unfortunately, the authors do not deal with this issue.

In fact, the regional economic imbalances would not have emerged to the extent seen today, had national planners realized the urgency of the problem in earlier years, particularly 1970, when the Planning Commission developed full momentum with high ranking economists and geographers as its members. Would it have really mattered if the conditions had not been optimum and the standard or economic benefit/cost had not been so high provided there had been concern for people's needs and aspirations? But there is no gain in lamenting over the past.

The second part of the book is concerned with spelling out a regional development strategy, with a national objective of doubling per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and a regional objective of equalising the per capita GDP in the next 20 years. The strategy proposes a differential rate of growth in each one of the four development regions and the three geographical regions over the next 20 year period (1975/76-1994/95). The scheme envisages a constant rate of growth of GDP at 6 percent in the central region and relatively higher rates of growth in other regions during 1980-1995. The proposed course thus aims for relatively higher rates of growth in the hills, mountains and terai compared to the Kathmandu valley. But it is worth questioning whether the regions with unfavourable physio-geographic conditions, terrain and climate, and with a low level of physical infrastructure, would be capable of generating higher growth rates?

These days it is being increasingly realized that growth by itself will not promote rural development. What is in fact required is a reduction in poverty,

unemployment and inequality of income. Hence, development of the economically weaker sections of the population and of specific areas appears to be the prime concern in any efforts toward regional development. Suitable activities need to be identified on a case by case basis rather than making generalizations in terms of the development and geographical regions. Moreover, activities should be designed to undertake an enquiry into the relation between requirements and resources at the local levels.

The authors seem to have worded hard in providing an estimate of the investment requirements for the development regions as well as the geographical regions for achieving the proposed rates of growth over the projected period. But in the absence of an adequate data base, the analysis appears shaky. Moreover, it is difficult to understand whether pumping up the estimated investment would lead to the targetted rates of growth in each region, for the authors have neglected the influence of other crucial factors on the growth of GDP through time, such as cultural, social, psychological and political determinants.

The programmes of industrial, agricultural, infra-structural and social services development outlined by the authors for each of the geographical regions require an appropriate institutional base for their effective implementation. Past experiences suggest that the existing institutions, whether they be Sajha or the local panchayat, are very unlikely to come up to the authors' expectation that these institutions will effectively implement various development programmes in their respective areas and make the villages more self-reliant than

at present. The more increase in growth hierarchy from the present 2 to 5, i.e. growth centres, growth axes, growth points, service centres and central villages - may not be as effective in the implementation of programmes as the authors' expect, without some kind of socio-economic revolution in the villages. We already have growth centres and growth axes from the Fourth Plan onwards, but the generation of activities along the growth corridors and in the centres have been extremely disappointing. Would the authors' five-tier hierarchy solve this problem?

Sriram Poudyal

Agricultural Finance in Nepal: An Analytical Study.
1978. K.K. Jha. 241 pages. Heritage Publishers.
New Delhi. Indian Rs. 50/-

Agricultural Finance in Nepal, originally a Bombay University Ph.D. thesis, attempts to explain the problems of agricultural finance in Nepal from the point of view of both demand and supply. On the demand side, the author concentrates on the demand for credit, indebtedness, investment and disinvestment among various groups of farmers classified by the size of their land holdings. On the supply side, money lenders, debt legislation, co-operatives and compulsory savings are discussed. Much of what has been written in the book is based on a field study of 142 farmers in 6 villages - 3 each from the two different districts of the Eastern Terai in 1969. The time gap of nearly a decade in bringing out the survey analysis has somewhat outdated its importance, since much has happened in the field of agricultural finance in the intervening years. For example, the co-operative system has been substituted by the multipurpose Sajha and the Agricultural Development Bank has been made more effective in lending to farmers through a net work of 169 branches, sub-branches and Small Farmers' Development Schemes in all the 75 districts. As these are the officially claimed attempts towards improving the condition of agricultural finance in the country, one might wish that Dr. Jha will find time and resources to make an evaluation of the situation he studied a decade ago.

The author, after interpreting and analyzing the survey data in various ways, comes to the too familiar conclusion that small farmers and share croppers, exploited by the money lenders in the past and neglected explicitly or implicitly by the credit institutions and reform programmes in the present, constitute the major problem group. He further observes that in a situation where the farmer's income is very low because of factors like small and fragmented holdings, non-availability of irrigation and other facilities, 'primitive' methods of cultivation and growing population pressure on land, the mere provision of credit will have limited impact. Hence, Dr. Jha proposed that credit should form a part of an overall development.

Throughout the book, there is much comment on the reasons for success or failure of various reform programmes and their inadequacies in helping the small farmers to get out of the vicious circle of indebtedness and poverty. In a sense, the book is an historical account of the agricultural reform and modernization programmes initiated in the past. Dr. Jha scans the history of the co-operative movement and compulsory savings scheme and comes to the conclusion that 'the compulsory saving were ironically a net addition to the financial burden of the cultivators which resulted in their new credit needs to be met by further borrowings'. This shows that savings made under pressure would not be genuine savings at all. In all, Dr. Jha's book brings to the focus at least two important but often neglected aspects of the credit programme: 1. that the debt-relief measures alone, if not supported by the provision of credit, would not be effective in strengthening the position of small farmers; 2. that the denial of institutional credit to the farmers for household and social

purposes would drive them towards money lenders with all its adverse consequences. It is a pity that the Agricultural Development Bank has, so far, ignored the suggestions contained in this book.

Despite Prof. Dantwala's comment in the foreword, '.... true there is nothing startlingly new in the thesis' the book will be of interest to the students of agricultural economics and persons involved in agricultural development.

Sriram Poudyal

The Road to Nowhere: A Selection of Writings 1966 -
1977. 1979. Kamal P. Malla. 255 pages. The Sajha
Publications. Nepal. Rs. 26.50/-

All the roads seem lately to lead to Kathmandu. In 1971 a British book came out entitled Road to Kathmandu (Macmillan). A certain French film company made a movie called "Road to Kathmandu". A fleet of buses carrying overland tourists arrives in this capital city from Europe each fall and the company which runs them is christened Kathmandu, Inc., N.Y. A group of young Japanese pop singers and musicians performed recently at the Dashrath Stadium; one of their songs was about coming together with, and belonging to Kathmandu.

But, once in Kathmandu, the road seems to come to a sudden end. Kathmandu is the end of all roads. It is the end specially for those who live here, the locals, the Nepalis. For them there is no Buddha, butterflies and hashish in Kathmandu, nor a levitating Dalai Lama. Kathmandu is most certainly not where the sun rises. For them there is (but) only the frustration and boredom of living in a country where everything fails. An elitist Nepal's psyche is wounded by his share of guilt in this general failure. The Road to Nowhere sums up Malla's guilt, his personal comments about and involvement with the system. The collection of writings represents his impatience with the modern institutions of Nepal. Some of the writings are of interest as specimens of rare confession coming from the inside.

The Road to Nowhere is a collection of 20 articles written over the period of a decade between 1966 and 1977. Written in different genres, they cover a wide range of interests - educational planning, university, teaching, linguistics, personalities, journalism, autobiography, culture, the intelligentsia, literature, and book reviews. The 'marginal commentaries' (author's Preface) go deeper; they become the voice of disenchantment of a present-day Nepali with the intellectual history of modern Nepal as it evolved through such post-1950 institutions as the Royal Nepal Academy, Tribhuvan University, the Rising Nepal, the National Education System Plan, the intelligentsia and several personalities.

Although written at different times, Malla's critical sense gives the collection a semblance of unity. Malla assumes throughout these articles the role of an 'intellectual', an intellectual of his own fashioning, the assessing-evaluating intellectual. He becomes his own here, the proto-elite, the representative of an 'articulate class of intellectuals who are willing to fill in the critical-evaluative role' (p. 199). The creator is bent on fulfilling his own prophecy, in a society like ours, the excruciating function, the raison d'etre of intellectuals seems to be 'to tell truth to power' (p.234). Malla fulfills that role with courage, insight, and incisiveness.

In "Kathmandu Your Kathmandu" (pp. 211-222) Malla says 'somewhere between the municipal area of Kathmandu and its adjoining outskirts lies the fatal border between the purity of man before the fall and his depravity since he ate the forbidden fruit.' This in a sense defines the

world the critical-evaluator himself inhabits. It is his vantage point - the fatal border that lies between the erstwhile bathrooms and present-day university classrooms, between the "Communications for Development" loudly proclaimed by the Rising Nepal and the realities that cause the sinking breaths of the Thakali woman, between the "Education for Development" and the mock entrance and qualifying examinations of Tribhuvan University, between the sacred societies of men of letters that a usual academy is and the sordid mausoleum where petrified mediocrity reigns as in the Royal Nepal Academy.

Split thus between the sacred and the sordid, Malla is an idealist whose idealism is doomed to failure. His search, 'the nomadic forays' as he calls it in the Preface, leads him nowhere; the pattern of dream and disenchantment thus takes another toll. The search for character is one motif that runs throughout the body of this collection. The search, characterized by passion, bitterness, satire, humour and cynicism, becomes essentially a search for identity of the modern Nepali amidst the vagaries of a nation in transition.

Tribhuvan University, that massive educational institution of present-day Nepal, is the beginning of the end, the beginning of the road to nowhere. Malla started teaching the same year as the university was founded (1959). He joined the Faculty of English soon after and became a Professor and later a Rector. The very first question that occurs to him is : 'what kind of university is it going to be?' (p.10). The articles on the vicissitudes of the university reflect Malla's concern with a moral question, viz., whether Tribhuvan University has or will

develop a 'distinct image of its own' (p.11) in reference to the concept of a university that has a character, or an environment, like the British universities, for example, which 'are not characterless institutions' (p.5), where even the hall of residence has a character (p. 254), and unlike the L.S. College of India, 'a physically hostile environment where there was nothing aesthetically stimulating' (p. 250). Malla is haunted by the idea of character; he would passionately like Tribhuvan University to have a character much in the same way as the Prince in Henry James' The Golden Gowl wished for his wife to have it; 'He expected her, desired her, to have a character, his wife should have it, and he wasn't afraid of her having too much'. But Tribhuvan University turns out to be a characterless institution; the faculty a 'shifting crowd', and marked distinctly by 'amorphous characterlessness' (p. 12). More recently, the University with its 78 campuses presents only a 'substandard educational environment' (p. 95), an 'environment fit only for breeding substandard citizens' (p. 96), where 'teaching is maily a means of livelihood rather than a way of life' (p. 194).

It is not just the university system which has failed. All other institutions of modern Nepal evolved over these three decades have also failed in the same way.

The National Education System Plan that evolved in the seventies, of which Mall was an insider if not one of architects, comes equally under his attack. He calls it 'Kruschev's proverbial troika' (p. 69), and 'the most institutionalized of illogic' (p. 69). One notices a certain staleness of imagery when Malla calls education in Nepal 'something like Frankenstein's mechanical monster' (p.68),

but the critique is all pervasive, 'our educational establishment is a malicious form of cancer with which our body-politic is increasingly threatened' (p. 70). Notice also the clinical angle which is habitual to Malla's critical sense.

The Royal Nepal Academy is another milestone in the journey down the road to nowhere. Malla's sketch of the Academy, in spite of its initial hint of a visit to the mausoleum, actually has the tempo of Gulliver's voyage to Laputa. The present-day great Academy of Projectors in Lagado replaces its mathematics of calculations by the confusion over 'wild projects' (p. 61), member-projectors groping 'in the dark labyrinth of its sub-committees, the endless strings of their meetins'(p. 63). The very first encounter with the structure of the Academy building reminds the author of quadrangular bathrooms - the remnant of scatology from Gulliver's accident at the palace in Liliput..

Equally, the Rising Nepal, the big national daily, lacks not only a character of its own; it also reflects our own lack of character by shamelessly exhibiting that 'we do not know where to break an English word and yet continue to run a daily' (p. 19). There are two apocalyptic moments in this short review of the three years in the life of the Rising Nepal. The first occurs when the author violently juxtaposes the experience of reading the Rising Nepal and of watching the wrinkled breasts of a Thakali woman (p. 18). The second happens when the only big English daily is proclaimed as the institutionalizer of 'Jyapu English' (p. 20).

In Nepal, there is no middle class, and much less a thinking middle class. In this sense, Malla is right when he presents his anatomy of the 'intellectuals' of Nepal as 'a class of white-collared proletariat who work, not for wages, but for salaries of different scales' (p. 199). The bare subsistence-level salary the civil servant receives is not meant for turning him into a thinking animal but for keeping him from starving, busy all his life putting him hand to his mouth. The rise of the middle class in Nepal is only a myth; it is only the rise of individuals who have betrayed the nation, of those who chose to 'make themselves' in the inevitable choice between 'making themselves' and 'remaking society', Malla's assessment of the intelligentsia of Nepal as lacking in 'character and distinction, integrity and effort' (p. 204) is deep and soul-searching.

Finally, Malla comes to ask in "The Cultural Identity of Nepal" (pp. 223-235) the most relevant and the final question: What does being a Nepali mean? However, the author fails to come up with any answer. The attempted answer loses itself in the rhetoric of history and culture.

One also starts to notice that not only the answers but also the questions gradually lose themselves. There seems to be an end to the seeking, to the travelling of the road and the end is pathetic. I think this happens in "Nepal: A Resume" (pp. 236-242) significantly, the last to be written in the collection (1977). In this short resume, the questioning spirit, the 'holy curiosity' seems to have come to an end; the quest dissipates into a meek compromise with the eating of the apple. While Malla could still manage to laugh at 'the beatitude of an

exploitationless state' (p. 204) in "The Intellectuals in Nepalese Society" (1970), he ends this resume with a ritualistic bravado on the theme of the release of 'the mainspring of development'. This essay seems rightly to mark what the author calls 'the end of the nomadic phase in the author's life' (Preface).

One may agree or disagree with Malla's assessment of the post-1950 institutions and people of Nepal. Malla's assessment is devastating, at times unscrupulous, such as in his comment on Verma's personal patience with earning for himself three degrees of Master of Arts. It is rare for our people or intellectuals to speak out, rarer for those within the institutions themselves to do so. However, Malla's detached critical sense has the effect at times of sounding too clinically remote. It feels as if the author enjoys as aesthetics the act of making statements, of piling pronouncement upon pronouncement, all chiselled and hammered to their utmost perfection. It is one thing, indeed aesthetically quite satisfying, to stand outside and condemn the system. It is quite another to justify the ethics of the act. The crucial problem that arises then is: how does one reconcile the ethics and the aesthetics of such an act in the context of Nepal? Does the scholar-aesthete eschew all his moral responsibilities by becoming merely a distant observer, isolating or even alienating himself from the duties for which he may be held accountable? Does an intellectual Nepali's role in Nepal and as soon as the critical perspective is achieved? At the same time, one feels strongly sympathetic towards the criticisms that Malla brings to bear upon the crucial issues in the national development. Malla uses the English language as a tool for incision

into the nation's arteries with remarkable mastery of precision. The medium suits the stance - the language which is neither Newari, the mother tongue, nor Nepali, the national language, but English, the language of the outsider, the profit of which lies in that one knows 'how to curse'.

Ramesh Shrestha

BOOK REVIEW

Nepal: Profile of a Himalayan Kingdom. 1980. Leo. E. Rose and John T. Scholz. 144 pages. Westview Press. Nations of Contemporary Asia. Boulder, Colorado. Price(?).

This is the latest book on Nepal by Leo E. Rose - a well-known scholar and an authority on contemporary Nepal's politics - jointly written with John T. Scholz, a relatively new scholar, also of political science. It is a thin volume consisting of 144 pages and produced under a series called Nations of Contemporary Asia (ed. Mervyn Adams Seldon). The book offers a generalised reading focussing on the politics of Nepal with its two concomitant subjects, economy and foreign policy, in the post 1951 period mainly. The narrative is smooth and unencumbered by the usual footnotes and reference-citings met in specialised works. The broad accounts are rendered with little ambivalence or uncertainty in writing. Such a style is born of necessity perhaps, as the present series is addressed to a wide range of international audience. The authors think that despite its general treatment of the subject matter, the synthesis of material it represents might enable the specialists as well to formulate many 'working hypotheses from a more comprehensive perspective' in their own studies on Nepal.

The book is divided into five compact chapters devoted to study environment, history, political system, society, economy and international relations of Nepal. The chapter on Environment and History provides a historical setting to the main study concerned essentially

with the present. The book does not derive any new conclusions differing from the authors' own conclusions arrived at earlier in their previous works. For other source material it seems to draw from certain sources more heavily than from others, in which the works of Lionel Caplan, Frederick Gaige and Mahesh Regmi are prominent. However, the final narrative is a lucid account of the slow and entangled political process evolving in Nepal from 1951 onwards.

The historical background records the main political events conditioning some of the characteristic features of the Nepali court politics in the pre-1951 days. The Rana rule has been evaluated afresh. It is said to have brought stability to Nepali politics and achieved greater administrative consolidation through increased centralisation and expansion of administration in the outlying regions. Furthermore, the responses of the Rana rule to pressures from external power (mainly from the British-Indian government) had been guided by nationalistic interest; this becomes validated by the fact that Nepal could retain its national independence and sovereignty until the very end of British colonial history in South Asia.

Occasionally, some generalisations in this chapter as well as in others appear far-fetched. An example of it perhaps is to try to trace the history of some of the minority ethnic groups to the Licchavi period (5th - 8th A.D.). This is historically doubtful. If the migration of the Sherpas to their traditional habitat in the Solukhumbu region of Nepal may be any guide, this Tibetan group living in the north of Nepal obviously arrived there only

four hundred years ago (cf. Michael Oppitz's Geschichte Und Sozialordnung Der Sherpa, Universitätsverlag Wagner, Innsbruck-München, 1968). An early speculative history of certain Tibeto-Burman speaking groups in the Himalayan region cannot give ample ground for assuming a definite historicity for the present-day tribes in their specific settings. The section on the history and culture preceding the Gorkha conquest also gives an impression of being hastily rounded-off making errors even in some historical dates (for example, the dates of the commencement of the Malla rule and Jayasthitimalla are wrong. pp. 12-13).

The second chapter is a study of the political situation after the fall of the Rana rule in 1951. The political changeover of 1951, popularly called 'the revolution of 1951' in Nepal, has been redefined as representing 'the beginning of a long, gradual and continuing search for viable institutions and processes that meet national requirements'. The twists and turns of the events together with the account of the roles played by the main participants in Nepal's political drama are recounted well. The pervasive influence of traditional values in the society is said to be responsible for Nepal's continued adherence to the old political culture and also for spurning by it of the concepts of a popular rule and a representative form of government. All hopes for a gradual political transition were dashed to the ground in the early fifties. The political parties were faction-ridden and the leadership was weak. On the other hand, monarchy was getting assertive and trying to enlarge its role in Nepalese politics. In the ensuing struggle between the two sides monarchy finally succeeded in outmanoeuvring them all. The Panchayat system introduced by

the royal ménage in 1960 has far from freed Nepal from its political problems, however. Its problems have stemmed from its own inner contradictions and constant pressures from the banned political opposition for liberalising the system. The journal of political developments in the book comes right down to the time just before the holding of Nepal's first ever referendum in April 1980. The closing of the chapter is rather abrupt and carries no clear prognostications for the future.

Political culture in the Nepalese society forms the subject of discussion in the third chapter of the book. Although it is a synthesis of previous researches, its interpretation of the material is novel. It approaches the subject by analysing the pattern of relationship existing between various groups and by discussing the politically and socially dominant sections among them. A sense of strong ethnic identity is said to be one of the abiding social characteristics of the people of Nepal. Nepal is a predominantly Hindu Society in a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic setting. Social interaction is based mainly on the notions of caste hierarchy. There is yet another mode of relationship, that is the authority relationship. Under this relationship, an individual enjoys an amount of authority through his landholding. Nepal's social stratification under this relationship alone might make it resemble with other stratified society of the pre-industrial times, but its social hierarchy based on ritual purity makes this social phenomenon of social relationship appear complicated. These two modes of relationships, however, do not oppose each other, as it might appear to be the case on the surface. On the contrary, they invariably coalesce in favour of certain

groups, who, thus, are able to maintain their higher social and political status. The widely prevalent chākari system for entering jobs and winning larger favours in the Nepali social life, even today, is said to reflect the continuing social behaviour first developed in Nepal's agrarian setting. Under it, mutually obligating bonds were laid down between a patron (landowner) and his client (tenant). The whole political pyramid of Nepal is said to be formed of such successive patron-client bonds from the base to the apex. It is said that authority relationship at times may be seen undercutting ritual status of caste, but this happens only at intermediate levels. Hindu social predominance at the national level makes even non-caste societies to emulate the social modes of high castes and thus sanskritise themselves in varying degrees to ascend higher in national hierarchy.

The study of the Nepali society presented is not so much an exposition of its cultural systems as it is to identify the elite groups of Nepal in the centre and periphery. This approach to the subject somewhat reminds me of a remark made by a sociologist about another in a book: '(his) social system is mainly a political system and his political system is largely concerned with elite members'. However, the various members of 'elites' described in the chapter appear to need clearer definitions. No Nepalese equivalents are given to explain the concrete social or political categories these elites might be referring to. In this sense, the social commentary becomes somewhat vague.

As a tiny country sandwiched between Asia's two

giant nations, India and China, the problem of political integration and national independence has always been one of greatest concerns for Nepal. Its response to it in modern times has been through reinforcement of the Hindu political ethos and, culturally, through the vigorous promotion of one-language policy even more. In a multi-ethnic society such a policy can be interpreted to be intolerant of the languages and cultures of the smaller groups. The notion of cultural pluralism is rejected for building up of a more monolithic social milieu. Such a society would probably be similar to Kornhauser's description of a 'mass society', which he describes as being 'vulnerable to political movements, destructive to liberal democratic institutions'. Is it such an attitude which is resisting the growth of democracy in Nepal? One would have wished the authors to discuss this question along with the social psychology of the ruling elites relating to the actual political process.

Studies done on the politics of Nepal create a wide interest among Nepali readers in general, especially when they are written by a team of Berkeley scholars. The broad perspectives which the present book brings to bear on Nepal will enable the readers to grasp the essential political features of this Himalayan Kingdom in a better manner without being forced to take sides on any controversy.

Prayag Raj Sharma